

A  
C O N C I S E  
*Ecclesiastical History,*

FROM  
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,  
TO THE  
Beginning of the present Century.  
IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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V O L. II.

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Ecclēsiastical History.



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A CONCISE  
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

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The NINTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The EXTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

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CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the prosperous events, which happened  
to the church during this century.*

I. THE reign of Charlemagne had been singularly auspicious to the Christian cause; the life of that great prince was principally employed in the most zealous efforts to propagate the religion of Jesus among the Huns, Saxons, Frieslanders, and other unenlightened nations; but his piety was mixed with violence, his spiritual conquests were generally made by the force of arms, and this impure mixture tarnishes the lustre of his noblest exploits. His son Lewis,

undeservedly surnamed the *Meek*, inherited the defects of his father without his virtues, and was his equal in violence and cruelty, but vastly his inferior in all valuable accomplishments. Under his reign a favourable opportunity was offered of propagating the gospel among the northern nations, and particularly among the inhabitants of Sweden and Denmark. A petty king of Jutland, named Harald Klack, being driven from both his kingdom and country, in the year 826, by Regner Lodbrock, threw himself at the emperor's feet, and implored his succours. Lewis granted his request, and promised the exiled prince his assistance, on condition that he would embrace Christianity. Harald submitted to it, was baptized with his brother at Mentz, A. D. 826, and returned into his country attended by two eminent divines, Ansgar and Authbert; the former a monk of Corbey in Westphalia, and the latter belonging to a monastery of the same name in France. These missionaries preached the gospel with remarkable success, during two years, to the inhabitants of Cimbria and Jutland.

II. After the death of his learned and pious companion Authbert, the zealous and indefatigable Ansgar made a voyage into Sweden, A. D. 828, where his ministerial labours were also crowned with distinguished success. As he returned into Germany in the year 831, he was loaded by Lewis with ecclesiastical honours, being created archbishop of the new church at Hamburgh, and also of the whole north, to which dignity the superintendence of the church of Bremen was afterwards added in the year 844. The profits attached to this honourable charge were very inconsiderable; while the perils and labours,



labours, in which it involved the pious prelate, were truly formidable. Accordingly Ansgar travelled frequently among the Danes, Cimbrians, and Swedes, in order to form new churches, and to confirm those which he had already gathered together; in all which enterprizes he passed his life in the most imminent dangers, until he concluded his course A. D, 865.

III. About the middle of this century the Moesians, Bulgarians, and Gazarians, and after them the Bohemians and Moravians, were converted to Christianity by Methodius and Cyril, two Greek monks, sent by the empress Theodora. The zeal of Charlemagne, and his missionaries, had been exerted in the same cause, and among the same people, but with so little success, that any notions which they had received of the Christian doctrine were entirely effaced. The instructions of the Grecian doctors had a much better and also a more permanent effect.

IV. Under the reign of Basilus, the Macedonian, who ascended the throne of the Greeks in the year 867, the Slavonians, and certain provinces of Dalmatia, sent a solemn embassy to Constantinople to declare their resolution of submitting to the Grecian empire, and of embracing, at the same time, the Christian religion. This proposal was answered by a suitable ardour and zeal for the conversion of a people, which seemed so ingenuously disposed to embrace the truth; accordingly, a competent number of Grecian doctors were sent among them to instruct them in the knowledge of the gospel, and to admit them by baptism into the Christian church. The warlike nation of the Russians were converted under the same emperor, but

not in the same manner. Having entered into a treaty of peace with that prince, they were engaged by various presents and promises to embrace the gospel, in consequence of which they received not only Christian ministers, but also an archbishop, whom the Grecian patriarch Ignatius sent among them, to establish their church. Such were the beginnings of Christianity among the Russians, who were inhabitants of the Ukraine, and who, a little before their conversion, fitted out a formidable fleet, and setting sail from Kiovia for Constantinople, spread terror and dismay through the whole empire.

V. It is proper to observe, with respect to the various conversions which we have now been relating, that they were undertaken upon much better principles, and executed in a more pious and rational manner, than those of the preceding ages. The ministers, who were now sent to convert the barbarous nations, employed not, like many of their predecessors, the terror of penal laws, to affright men into the profession of Christianity; nor, in establishing churches, were they principally attentive to promote the grandeur of the Roman pontiffs: their views were more noble, and their conduct more suitable to the genius of the religion they professed. They had principally in view the happiness of mankind, endeavoured to promote the gospel of truth and peace by rational persuasion, and seconded their arguments by the victorious power of exemplary lives. It must, however, be confessed, that the doctrine they taught, was far from being conformable to that rule of faith and practice laid down by our divine Saviour; their religious system was corrupted with a variety of

of superstitious rites and a multitude of absurd inventions. It is further certain, that there remained among these converted nations too many traces of the idolatrous religion of their ancestors, notwithstanding the zealous labours of their Christian guides; these missionaries being contented with introducing an external profession of the true religion.

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### CHAP. II.

*Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.*

I. **T**HE Saracens had now extended their usurpations with an amazing success. Masters of Asia, a few provinces excepted, they pushed their conquests to the extremities of India, and obliged the greatest part of Africa to receive their yoke; nor were their enterprizes in the west without effect, since Spain and Sardinia submitted to their arms. But their conquests did not end here: for in the year 827, by the treason of Euphemius, they made themselves masters of the fertile island of Sicily; and towards the conclusion of this century the Asiatic Saracens seized upon several cities of Calabria, and spread the terror of their victorious arms even to the walls of Rome, while Crete, Corfica, and other adjacent islands, were either joined to their possessions, or laid waste by their incursions. It is easy to comprehend that this overgrown prosperity of a nation accustomed to bloodshed and rapine, and which beheld the Christians with the utmost aversion, must have been every where detrimental to the progress of



of the gospel. In the east, more especially, a prodigious number of Christian families embraced the religion of their conquerors, that they might live in the peaceful enjoyment of their possessions. Many, indeed, refused this, and with a pious magnanimity adhered to their principles in the face of persecution; but such were not only robbed of the best part of their wealth, but, what was still more deplorable, they fell by degrees into such incredible ignorance, that, in process of time, there were scarcely any remains of Christianity to be found among them. The European Saracens, particularly those who were settled in Spain, were of a much milder disposition, and seemed to have put off the greatest part of their native ferocity; so that the Christians, generally speaking, lived peaceably under their dominion, and were permitted to enjoy the privileges of their holy profession.

II. The European Christians had the most cruel sufferings to undergo from another quarter, even from the insatiable fury of a swarm of barbarians that issued out from the north. The Normans, under which general term are comprehended the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, whose habitations lay along the coasts of the Baltic sea, were a people accustomed to carnage and rapine. Their petty kings, who subsisted by piracy and plunder, had already, during the reign of Charlemagne, infested with their fleets the coasts of the German ocean, but were restrained by the opposition they met with from that warlike prince. But in this century they became more bold, made frequent irruptions into Germany, Britain, Friesland, and the Gauls, and carried along with them, fire and sword, defolation

desolation and horror. The impetuous fury of these barbarians not only spread desolation through the Spanish provinces, but even penetrated into the heart of Italy; for in the year 857, they sacked and pillaged the city of Lucca in the most cruel manner, and about three years after, Pisa, and several cities of Italy.

III. The first views of these savage invaders extended no further than plunder; but charmed with the beauty and fertility of the provinces, which they were depopulating, they began to form settlements in them, nor were the European princes in a condition to oppose their usurpations. On the contrary, Charles the Bald was obliged, in the year 850, to resign a considerable part of his dominions to these powerful banditti; and a few years after, under the reign of Charles the Gross, emperor and king of France, the famous Norman chief Godofred entered with an army into Friesland, and obstinately refused to sheath his sword before he was master of the whole province. Such, however, of the Normans as settled among the Christians, gradually departed from their primitive brutality. Their marriages with the Christians contributed to civilize them; and engaged them to abandon the superstition of their ancestors. Thus the proud conqueror of Friesland solemnly embraced the Christian religion after that he had received in marriage, from Charles the Gross, Gisela, the daughter of Lothaire the younger.

## P A R T II.

## The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

## C H A P T E R I.

*Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.*

I. **T**HE Grecian empire, in this century, was in circumstances every way proper to extinguish all taste for letters and philosophy. Yet the liberality of the emperors, some of whom were men of learning, and the wise precautions taken by the patriarchs of Constantinople among whom Photius deserves the first rank, attached some learned men to that imperial city, and thus prevented the total decline of letters. Accordingly we find in Constantinople, several persons who excelled in eloquence and poetry; some who displayed, in their writings against the Latins, a considerable knowledge of the art of reasoning; and others who composed the history of their own times with accuracy and elegance.

II. We learn from the accounts of Zonaras, that the study of philosophy lay for a long time neglected; but it was revived, with a zeal for the sciences in general, under the emperor Theophilus, and his son Michael III. This revival of letters was principally owing to the encouragement which the learned received from Bardas, who had been declared Cæsar, himself an illite-

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rate man, but a warm friend of the celebrated Photius, the great patron of science, by whose counsel he was directed. At the head of the learned men to whom Bardas committed the culture of the sciences, he placed Leo, surnamed the Wise, a man of the most uncommon erudition, and who afterwards was consecrated bishop of Thessalonica.

III. The Arabians, who, instead of cultivating the arts and sciences, had thought of nothing hitherto but of extending their territories, were now excited to literary pursuits by Almamunis, otherwise called Abu Gaafar Abdallah, whose zeal for the advancement of letters was great, and whose munificence towards men of learning was truly royal. Under the auspicious protection of this celebrated caliph of Babylon and Egypt, the Arabians made a rapid progress in various kinds of learning. This excellent prince began to reign about the time of the death of Charlemagne, and died in the year 833. He erected the famous schools of Bagdad, Cufa, and Basora, and established seminaries of learning in several other cities; he drew to his court men of eminent parts by his extraordinary liberality, set up noble libraries in various places, had translations made of the best Grecian productions into the Arabic language at a vast expence, and employed every method of promoting the cause of learning, that became a great and generous prince. It was under the reign of this caliph, that the Arabians began to take pleasure in the Grecian learning, and to propagate it, not only in Syria and Africa, but also in Spain and Italy; and from this period they give us a long catalogue of celebrated philosophers, physicians, astronomers, and mathematicians, who were ornaments

ornaments to their nation through several succeeding ages.

After this period, the European Christians profited much by the Arabian learning, and were highly indebted to the Saracens for improvement in the various sciences. For the mathematics, astronomy, physic, and philosophy, that were taught in Europe from the tenth century, were, for the most part, drawn from the Arabian schools, that were established in Spain and Italy, or from the writings of the Arabian sages. And from hence the Saracens may be justly considered as the restorers of learning in Europe.

IV. In that part of Europe, that was subject to the dominion of the Franks, Charlemagne laboured with incredible zeal for the advancement of useful learning, and animated his subjects to the culture of the sciences in all their branches. So that, had his successors been disposed to follow his example, the empire, in a little time, would have been entirely delivered from barbarism and ignorance. It is true, this great prince left in his family a spirit of emulation, which animated his immediate successors to imitate his zeal for the prosperity of the republic of letters. Lewis the Meek both formed and executed several designs that were extremely conducive to the progress of the arts and sciences; and his zeal was surpassed by the ardour with which his son Charles the Bald exerted himself in the propagation of letters, and in exciting the emulation of the learned by the most alluring marks of his protection. This great patron of the sciences drew the *literati* to his court from all parts, took a particular delight in their conversation, multiplied and embellished the

the seminaries of learning. His brother Lothaire endeavoured to revive in Italy the drooping sciences, and to restore them from that state of decay into which the corruption and indolence of the clergy had permitted them to fall. For this purpose he erected schools in the eight principal cities of Italy, A. D. 823, but with little success; since it appears that that country was entirely destitute of men of learning during the ninth century.

In England learning had a better fate under the auspicious protection of king Alfred, who has acquired an immortal name, not only by the admirable progress he made in all kinds of elegant and useful knowledge, but also by the care he took to multiply men of letters and genius in his dominions, and to restore to the sciences, sacred and profane, the credit and lustre they so eminently deserve.

This excellent prince, not only encouraged by his protection and liberality such of his own subjects as made any progress in the liberal arts and sciences, but invited over from foreign countries men of distinguished talents, whom he fixed in a seminary at Oxford, and, of consequence, may be looked upon as the founder of that university. Johannes Scotus Erigena, who had been in the service of Charles the Bald, and Grimbold, a monk of St. Bertin in France, were the most famous of those learned men who came from abroad.

V. But the infelicity of the times rendered the effects of all this zeal for the advancement of learning much less considerable than might have been expected. The patrons of the learned, were themselves learned; their authority was respectable, and their munificence boundless;



and yet the progress of science was but slow, because the interruptions arising from the troubled state of Europe were frequent. The discords that arose between Lewis and his sons, which were succeeded by a rupture between the latter, retarded considerably the progress of letters in the empire; and the incursions of the Normans, which afflicted Europe during the whole course of this century, were so fatal to the culture of the arts and sciences, that in most of the European provinces, and even in France, there remained but a small number who truly deserved the title of learned men. The wretched fragments of erudition that yet remained among the clergy, were confined to the monasteries, and to the episcopal schools; but the zeal of the monkish and priestly orders for the improvement of the mind, diminished in proportion as their revenues increased, so that their indolence and ignorance grew with their possessions.

VI. It must, however, be confessed, that several learned men, whose zeal was kindled by the encouragement of Charlemagne, shone forth with a distinguished lustre through the darkness of this barbarous age. Among these, the first rank is due to Rabanus Maurus, whose fame was great through all Germany and France, and to whom the youth resorted, in prodigious numbers, from all parts, to receive his instructions in the liberal arts and sciences. The writers of history, whose works have deservedly preserved their names from oblivion, are Eginhard, Freculph, Anastasius, Ado, and others of less note. Florus, Walafridus Strabo, Bertharius, and Rabanus, excelled in poetry. Smaragdus and Bertharius were eminent for their skill in languages,

as was also the celebrated Rabanus already mentioned. The Greek and Hebrew erudition was cultivated with considerable success by William, Scotus, and others. Eginhard, Agobard, Hincmar, and Servatus Lupus, were much celebrated for the eloquence, which appeared both in their discourses and in their writings.

VII. The philosophy and logic that were taught in the European schools during this century, were little better than an empty jargon. There were, however, to be found in various places, particularly among the Irish, men of acute parts, and extensive knowledge. The chief of these was Johannes Scotus Erigena<sup>a</sup>, a native of Ireland, the friend and companion of Charles the Bald, who delighted so much in his conversation as to honour him with a place at his table. Scotus was endowed with an excellent and truly superior genius, and was considerably versed both in Greek and Latin erudition. He explained to his disciples the philosophy of Aristotle, for which he was singularly well qualified by his thorough knowledge of the Greek language; but as his genius was too bold and aspiring to confine itself to the authority of the Stagirite, he pushed his philosophical researches yet farther, dared to think for himself, and ventured to pursue truth without any other guide than his own reason. We have yet extant of his composition, *Five Books concerning the division of nature*, in which the causes and principles of all things are investigated with a considerable degree of sagacity; and in which also the precepts of Christianity are explained,

<sup>a</sup> Erigena signifies properly a native of Ireland, as Erin, or Irin, was the ancient name of that kingdom.

yet in such a manner as to shew that their ultimate end is the union of the soul with the Supreme Being. This celebrated philosopher formed no particular sect, at least, as far as is come to our knowledge; and this will be considered, by those who are acquainted with the spirit of the times he lived in, as a proof that his immense learning was accompanied with meekness and modesty.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government, during this century.*

I. **T**HE impiety and licentiousness of the greatest part of the clergy arose, at this time, to an enormous height. In the east, tumult, discord, conspiracies and treason, reigned uncontrouled, and all things were carried by violence. These abuses appeared in many things, but particularly in the election of the patriarchs of Constantinople. The favour of the court was become the only step to that important office; and as the patriarch's continuance therein depended upon such an uncertain foundation, nothing was more usual, than to see a prelate pulled down from his episcopal throne by an imperial decree. In the western provinces, the bishops were become voluptuous and effeminate to a very high degree. They passed their lives amidst the splendor of courts, and the pleasures of a luxurious indolence, which rendered them incapable of performing the solemn duties of their function; while the inferior clergy were sunk in licentiousness, minded nothing



thing but sensual gratifications, and infected, with the most heinous vices, the flock, whom it was their business to preserve from the contagion. Besides, their ignorance was so deplorable, that few of them could either read or write; and still fewer were capable of expressing their wretched notions with any method or perspicuity.

II. Many circumstances concurred, particularly in the European nations, to produce and augment this corruption. Among these we may reckon the calamities of the times, even the bloody and perpetual wars that were carried on between Lewis the Meek and his family, the incursions and conquests of the barbarous nations, the gross and incredible ignorance of the nobility, and the riches that flowed in upon the churches and religious seminaries from all quarters. Many other causes contributed to dishonour the church, by introducing into it a corrupt ministry. A nobleman, who, through want of talents, activity, or courage, was rendered incapable of appearing with dignity in the cabinet, or with honour in the field, immediately turned his views towards the church, aimed at a distinguished place among its chiefs and rulers, and became, in consequence, a contagious example of stupidity and vice to the inferior clergy. The patrons of churches, in whom resided the right of election, unwilling to submit their disorderly conduct to the censure of zealous and upright pastors, industriously looked for the most abject, ignorant, and worthless ecclesiastics, to whom they committed the cure of souls. But one of the circumstances, which contributed in a particular manner to render, at least, the higher clergy wicked, and to take off their minds from the duties of their

station, was the obligation they were under of performing certain services to their sovereigns, in consequence of the possessions they derived from them. The bishops and heads of monasteries held many lands and castles by a feudal tenure; and being thereby bound to furnish their princes with a certain number of soldiers in time of war, were obliged also to take the field themselves at the head of these troops, and thus to act in a sphere that was utterly inconsistent with their sacred character. Besides all this, it often happened, that rapacious princes, in order to satisfy their soldiers and domestics, invaded the possessions of the church, which they distributed among their armies; in consequence of which the priests and monks, in order to avoid perishing, abandoned themselves to violence, and all sorts of crimes, which they looked upon as the only means left of procuring themselves subsistence.

III. The Roman pontiffs were raised to that high dignity by the suffrages of the sacerdotal order, accompanied with the voice of the people; but, after their election, the approbation of the emperor was necessary in order to their consecration. There is indeed an edict, supposed to have been published by Lewis the Meek, in which he grants to the Romans, not only the power of electing their pontiff, but also of consecrating him, without waiting for the consent of the emperor. But this grant several learned men have proved spurious by irresistible arguments. It must, however, be confessed, that after the time of Charles the Bald, this change was really introduced. That prince having obtained the imperial dignity by the good offices of the bishop of Rome, returned this

this fervice by delivering the fucceeding pontiffs from the obligation of waiting for the confent of the emperors, in order to their being installed in their office. And thus we find, that from the time of Eugenius III. who was raifed to the pontificate A. D. 884, the election of the bifhops of Rome was carried on without the leaft regard to law, order, or even decency, until the reign of Otho the Great, who put a flop to thefe diforderly proceedings.

IV. Among the prelates that were raifed to the pontificate, in this century, there were very few, who diftinguifhed themfelves by their learning, prudence, and virtue, or who were at all careful about acquiring thofe qualities that are effential to the character of a Chriftian bifhop. On the contrary, the greateft part of them are only known by the flagitious actions that have tranfmitted their names to our times; and they all, in general, feem to have vied with each other in their efforts to render their dominion unlimited and univerfal. It is here that we may place, with propriety, an event, which interrupted the much-vaunted fucceffion of regular bifhops, in the fee of Rome, from the firft foundation of that church to the prefent times. Between the pontificate of Leo IV. who died in the year 855, and that of Benedict III. a certain woman, who had the art to difguife her fex for a confiderable time, by learning, genius, and dexterity, made good her way to the papal chair, and governed the church about two years. This extraordinary perfon is yet known by the title of Pope Joan. During the five fucceeding centuries, this event was generally believed, and a vaft number of writers bore testimony to its truth; nor, before the Reformation, was it denied by



by any. But in the last century, several men of distinguished abilities have employed their genius and erudition to destroy the credit of this story. Between the contending parties, the wisest and most learned writers have judiciously steered a middle course: they grant that many fabulous circumstances have been interwoven with this story; but they deny that it is destitute of foundation. And, indeed, upon a deliberate view of this whole matter, it is not at all credible, that an event should be universally believed and related in the same manner by a multitude of historians, during five centuries immediately succeeding its supposed date, if it was destitute of all foundation.

V. The enormous vices, that covered so many pontiffs with infamy, formed not the least obstacle to their ambition in these miserable times, nor hindered them from augmenting their authority, both in church and state. It does not, indeed, appear that their possessions augmented in proportion to the progress of their authority. The donations, which Lewis the Meek is reported to have made to them, are mere inventions, equally destitute of truth and probability; and nothing is more groundless than the accounts of those who affirm, that Charles the Bald divested himself, in the year 875, of his right to the city of Rome, and its territory, in favour of the pontiffs. It is, however, certain, that the authority and affluence of the bishops of Rome increased greatly from the time of Lewis the Meek, but more especially from the accession of Charles the Bald to the imperial throne.

VI. After the death of Lewis II. a dreadful war broke out among several competitors for the empire. This furnished the Italian princes, and

and the Roman pontiff John VIII. with a favourable opportunity of assuming to themselves the right of nominating to the imperial throne, and of excluding from all part in this election the nations who had formerly the right of suffrage; and if the opportunity was favourable, it was seized with avidity. Their favour and interest was earnestly solicited by Charles the Bald, whose entreaties were rendered effectual by rich presents, and pompous promises, in consequence of which he was proclaimed, A. D. 876, by the pontiff John VIII. and by the Italian princes assembled at Pavia, king of Italy and emperor of the Romans. Carloman and Charles the Gross, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Italy, and in the Roman empire, were also elected by the Roman pontiff, and the Italian princes. After the reigns of these princes the empire was torn in pieces; the most deplorable commotions arose in Italy, France, and Germany, which were subdued and usurped by various chiefs, and, in this confused scene of things, the highest bidder was, by the succour of the greedy pontiffs, generally raised to the government of Italy, and to the imperial throne.

VII. Thus the power of the pontiffs, in civil affairs, arose in a short time to an enormous height through the favour of the princes, in whose cause they had employed the influence, which superstition had given them over the people. The increase of their authority, in religious matters, was not less rapid, and it arose from the same causes. The most impartial among the Roman Catholic writers not only acknowledge, but demonstrate, that, from the time of Lewis the Meek, the ancient rules of ecclesiastical government were gradually changed in

in Europe by the instigation of the court of Rome, and new laws substituted in their place. The European princes suffered themselves to be divested of the supreme authority in religious matters, which they had derived from Charlemagne; the power of the bishops was greatly diminished, and even the authority of both provincial and general councils began to decline. The Roman pontiffs, elated with their overgrown prosperity, and become arrogant, beyond measure, by the daily accessions that were made to their authority, were eagerly bent upon persuading all, that the bishop of Rome was constituted, by Jesus Christ, supreme legislator and judge of the church universal; and that, therefore, the bishops derived all their authority from the Roman pontiff; nor could the councils determine any thing without his consent. This opinion, inculcated by the pontiffs with the utmost zeal, was opposed by such as were acquainted with the ancient ecclesiastical constitutions, and the government of the church in the earlier ages; but it was opposed in vain.

VIII. In order to gain credit to this new ecclesiastical system, so different from the ancient rules of church government, and to support the haughty pretensions of the pontiffs, it was necessary to produce the authority of ancient deeds. The bishops of Rome were aware of this, and as those means were looked upon as the most lawful that tended best to the accomplishment of their purposes, they employed some of their most ingenious partisans in forging conventions, acts of councils, epistles, and such like records, by which it might appear, that, in the first ages of the church, the Roman pontiffs were clothed with the same supreme authority



authority which they now assumed. Among these fictitious supports of the papal dignity, the famous *decretal Epistles*, as they are called, said to have been written by the pontiffs of the primitive times, deserve chiefly to be stigmatized. They were the production of an obscure writer, who fraudulently prefixed to them the name of Isidore, bishop of Seville, to make the world believe they had been collected by that illustrious prelate. The decisions of a certain Roman council, which is said to have been held during the pontificate of Sylvester, were likewise alledged in behalf of the same cause; but this council had never been so much as heard of before the present century, and the accounts now given of it proceeded from the same source with the *decretals*. Be that as it may, the decrees of this pretended council contributed much to enrich and aggrandize the Roman pontiffs.

IX. There were not, however, wanting among the Latin bishops men of sagacity, who saw through these impious frauds. The French bishops distinguished themselves by the zeal with which they opposed the spurious *decretals*, and other like fictitious monuments, and protested against their being received among the laws of the church. But the obstinacy of the pontiffs, and particularly of Nicolas I. conquered this opposition. And as the empire, in the periods that succeeded this contest, fell back into the grossest ignorance, there scarcely remained any who were capable of detecting these odious impostors. The history of the following ages shews, in a multitude of deplorable examples, the calamities that sprung from the ambition of the aspiring pontiffs; it represents these despotic lords

lords of the church, labouring by the aid of their impious frauds to overturn its ancient government, to undermine the authority of its bishops, and to engross its revenues into their own hands; nay, what is still more horrible, it represents them aiming perfidious blows at the thrones of princes. All this is unanimously acknowledged by such as have looked, with attention, into the history of these times, and is ingenuously confessed by men of learning and probity, that are well affected to the Romish church.

X. The monastic life was now universally in the highest esteem. The Greeks and Orientals had been long accustomed to regard the monkish orders with the greatest admiration; but it was only since the beginning of the last century, that this passion was indulged among the Latins. In the present age it went beyond all bounds: kings, dukes, and counts, forgot their true dignity, even the fulfilling the duties of their high stations, and affected that contempt of the world, which they took for magnanimity, though it was really nothing else but a narrow and superstitious spirit. They abandoned their thrones, their honours, and their treasures, and shut themselves up in monasteries. Several examples of this extravagance were exhibited in Italy, France, Germany and Spain, both in this and the preceding century. And if pleasures and honours had too much power over many to permit their separating themselves from human society, during their lives, such endeavoured to make amends in their last hours; for when they perceived death approaching, they demanded the monastic habit, and actually put it on before their departure, that they might be regarded as  
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of the fraternity, and be of consequence entitled to the spiritual succours of their ghostly brethren.

But nothing affords such a striking proof of the excessive veneration that was paid to the monastic order, as the treatment they received from several kings and emperors, who drew numbers of monks and abbots from their cloisters, and placed them in stations entirely foreign to their character, even at the head of affairs. Hence we find in the history of these times frequent examples of monks and abbots performing the functions of ambassadors, and ministers of state, and displaying their talents with various success in these eminent stations.

XI. The morals, however, of the monks were far from being so pure as to justify their promotion. Their patrons, who loaded them with honours and preferment, were sensible of the licentious lives that many of them led, and used their utmost efforts to correct their vices. Lewis the Meek distinguished his zeal in this noble design; and, to render it more effectual, he employed the pious labours of Benedict, abbot of Aniane, in reforming the monasteries first in Aquitaine, and afterwards throughout the whole kingdom of France, and in restoring, by new and salutary laws, the monastic discipline, which was absolutely neglected. This worthy ecclesiastic presided in the year 817, in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, where several wise measures were taken for removing the disorders that reigned in the cloisters; and in consequence of the unlimited authority he had received from the emperor, he subjected all the monks, without exception, to the rule of the famous Benedict abbot of Mount Cassin, annulled that variety of rites and customs that had obtained



in the different monasteries, prescribed to them all one uniform method of living, and thus united, as it were, into one general body, the various orders which had hitherto been connected by no common bond. This admirable discipline, which acquired to Benedict of Aniane the highest reputation, flourished during a time, but afterwards declined through various causes, until the conclusion of this century, when, under the calamities that oppressed both the church and the empire, it almost entirely disappeared.

XII. The same emperor who had appeared with such zeal both in protecting and reforming the monks, gave also distinguished marks of his favour to the order of *canons*, which Chrodegangus had introduced in several places. He distributed them through all the provinces of the empire, and instituted also an order of *canonesses*, which was the first female convent known in the Christian world. For each of these orders the zealous emperor had a rule drawn up A. D. 817, in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, which he substituted in the place of that which had been appointed by Chrodegangus, and this new rule was observed in most of the monasteries and convents of the canons and canonesses in the west until the twelfth century, notwithstanding that it was disapproved of by the court of Rome. The author of the rule that was appointed for the *canons* was, undoubtedly, Amalarius, a presbyter of Metz; but it is not so certain whether that which was drawn up for the *canonesses* was composed by the same hand. From this time a great number of convents were erected for them through all the western provinces, and were richly endowed by pious and opulent Christians.

But

But this institution degenerated in a short time, like all others, from its primitive purity, and ceased to answer the laudable intention of its worthy founders.

XIII. Of the theological writers that flourished among the Greeks, the following are the most remarkable;

Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of most profound and universal erudition, whose *Bibliotheca*, *Epistles*, and other writings, are yet valuable on many accounts.

Moses Barcephas, a Syrian bishop, deserved the reputation, which he has obtained in the republic of letters, as what we have yet extant of his works discover several marks of true genius.

XIV. Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, is deservedly placed at the head of the Latin writers of this age; the force of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the multitude of productions that flowed from his pen, entitle him to this distinguished rank, and render improper all comparison between him and his contemporaries. He may be called the great light of Germany and France, since it was from the prodigious fund of knowledge he possessed, that these nations derived principally their religious instruction.

Eginhard, abbot of Selingstat, the celebrated author of the *Life of Charlemagne*, remarkable for the beauty of his diction, the perspicuity and elegance of his style, and a variety of other literary accomplishments.

Claudius, bishop of Turin, whose *Exposition* of several books of scripture, as also his *Chronology*, gained him an eminent and lasting reputation.

Paschasius Radbert, a name famous in the contests concerning *The real presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist*; and who, to pass in silence his other writings, composed a book upon this very subject, which furnished abundant matter of dispute throughout this century.

Bertramm, or Ratramn, a monk of Corby, who deserves the first rank among the writers that refuted the doctrine of Radbert; and whose book concerning *The sacrament of the Lord's supper*, which was composed by the order of Charles the Bald, gave also occasion to many contests among learned divines.

Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, a man of an imperious and turbulent spirit; but who deserves, notwithstanding, a distinguished place among the Latin writers of this century, since his works discover an aspiring genius, and an ardent zeal in the pursuit of truth, and tend, moreover, in a singular manner, to throw light both upon the civil and ecclesiastical history of the age in which he lived.

Johannes Scotus Erigena, the friend and companion of Charles the Bald, an eminent philosopher, and a learned divine, whose erudition was accompanied with uncommon marks of sagacity, and whose various performances, as well as his translations from the Greek, gained him a lasting reputation.



## C H A P. III.

*Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church  
in this century.*

I. **T**HE zeal of Charlemagne for the interests of Christianity, and his liberality to the learned, encouraged many to apply themselves to the study of the scriptures; and as long as this eminent set of divines remained, the western provinces were happily preserved from many errors and superstitious practices. Thus we find among the writers of this age several men of eminent talents. But these illustrious luminaries of the church disappeared one after the other, and barbarism and ignorance resumed their ancient seats, and brought, in their train, a prodigious multitude of superstitions and abominable errors. Nor did any propagate with more zeal these superstitious innovations, than the sacerdotal orders. This zeal was, in some, the effect of ignorance, and, in others, the fruit of avarice and ambition; since much was to be gained both in point of authority and opulence from the progress of superstition. Christianity among the Greeks and Orientals was almost in the same deplorable state; though there arose, from time to time, in the eastern provinces, men of superior abilities, who endeavoured to support the cause of true religion.

II. The causes of this unhappy revolution, that covered the Christian church with superstition and darkness, will appear evident to such as are acquainted with the history of these times. The Oriental doctors, miserably divided among themselves, and involved in the bitterest quarrels

with the western churches, lost all notion of the true spirit of Christianity, and, corrupted by prejudice and passion, became incapable of promoting the essential interests of religion. Intent also upon defending their doctrine and discipline against the Latin doctors, and maintaining among themselves the worship of images, they advanced many things in these disputes that were highly erroneous. The savage lives of the monks and hermits, whose number was prodigious, and whose authority was considerable, who haunted the woods and deserts, contributed much to the decay of solid and rational piety. Add to all this, the irruptions of the barbarous nations into the west, the atrocious exploits of usurping princes, the ambitious frenzy of the Roman pontiffs, who were incessantly gaping after new authority, the frauds of the monastic orders carried on under the specious mask of religion, and then we shall see the true causes that founded the empire of superstition and error upon the ruin of piety and reason.

III. The ignorance that dishonoured the Christian church, was great beyond measure; and were there no other examples of its enormity, than that stupid veneration that was paid to the bones and carcases of departed saints; this would be sufficient to convince us of it. This was now considered as the most sacred branch of religion, nor did any entertain the smallest hopes, before they had assured themselves of the intercession of some one or other of the saints. Hence it was that every church, and indeed every private Christian, had their particular saints, from an apprehension that their spiritual interests would be but indifferently managed by those, who were already employed about the  
souls

souls of others. This notion rendered it necessary to multiply the number of the saints, and to create daily new patrons for the people; and this was done with the utmost zeal. The priests and monks set their invention at work, and peopled the invisible world with imaginary protectors. They invented both names and histories of saints that never existed, that they might furnish the credulous multitude with objects proper to perpetuate their superstition.

IV. The ecclesiastical councils found it necessary, at length, to set limits to the licentious superstition of those ignorant wretches, who, with a view to have still more friends at court, were daily adding new saints. They, accordingly, declared by a solemn decree, that no departed Christian should be considered as a saint, before the bishop in a provincial council had pronounced him worthy of that honour. This remedy, feeble as it was, contributed, in some measure, to restrain the saint-makers; but it was the occasion of a new accession of power to the Roman pontiff. Even so early as this century many were of opinion, that it was expedient, though not absolutely necessary, that the decisions of bishops and councils should be confirmed by the Roman pontiff. And this will not appear surprising to any who reflect upon the enormous strides which the bishops of Rome had made towards unbounded dominion. It is true, we have no example of any person solemnly sainted by the bishop of Rome alone, before the tenth century, when Udalric, bishop of Augsburg, received this dignity in a formal manner from John XV. It is however certain, that before that time, the Roman pontiffs were consulted, and their judgment respected in the choice



choice of those, that were to be honoured with saintship; and it was by such steps as these, that the church of Rome engrossed to itself the creation of these tutelary divinities, which, at length, was distinguished by the title of *Canonization*.

V. This preposterous multiplication of saints was a new source of abuses and frauds. It was thought necessary to write the lives of these celestial patrons; and here lying wonders were invented, and all the resources of forgery and fable exhausted to celebrate exploits which had never been performed, and to perpetuate the memory of persons who had never existed. We have yet extant a prodigious quantity of these trifling legends, the greatest part of which were forged after the time of Charlemagne by the monastic writers. The same impostors employed their inventions in embellishing with false miracles the history of those, who had been really martyrs or confessors; these fictions, however, did not pass with impunity, but were severely censured by some of the most eminent writers of the times. Various were the motives that engaged different persons to propagate, or countenance, these impostures. Some were excited to this by a false devotion, which made them imagine that departed saints were highly delighted with the veneration of mortals, and never failed to crown with peculiar marks of their favour such as were zealous in honouring their memories. The prospect of gain, and the desire of being revered by the multitude, engaged others to maintain the credit of the saintly registers.

VI. But

VI. But even all this was insufficient to satisfy the demands of superstition nourished by a corrupt and designing priesthood. It was not enough to reverence departed saints, and to confide in their intercession; it was not enough to cloath them with a power of working miracles, and delivering from all sorts of calamities and dangers; their bones, their cloaths, the apparel and furniture they had possessed during their lives, the very ground which they had touched, or in which their putrified carcases were laid, were supposed to retain the virtue of healing all disorders both of body and mind, and of defending them against all the assaults and devices of Satan. And as the demand for relics was prodigious, the clergy employed all their dexterity to satisfy these demands. The bodies of the saints were sought by fasting and prayer instituted by the priest in order to obtain an infallible direction, and this direction never failed to accomplish their desires; the holy carcase was always found, and that always in consequence of a divine suggestion and inspiration. Each discovery of this kind animated these devout seekers to enrich the church still more and more with this new kind of treasure. Many travelled with this view into the eastern provinces, that, with the bones and other sacred remains of the first heralds of the gospel, they might calm trembling consciences, save sinking states, and defend their inhabitants from all sorts of calamities. Nor did these pious travellers return home empty; the craft and knavery of the Greeks found a rich prey in the stupid credulity of the Latin relic-hunters. The latter paid considerable sums for legs and arms, skulls and jaw-bones (several of which were  
Pagan,

Pagan, and some not human) and other things that were supposed to have belonged to the primitive worthies of the Christian church; and thus the Latin churches came to the possession of those celebrated relicks of St. Mark, St. James, St. Bartholomew, Cyprian, Pantaleon, and others.

VII. The study of the holy scriptures languished much among the Greeks in this century. Photius, who composed a book of *Questions*, relating to various passages of scripture, *An exposition of the Epistles of St. Paul*, and other productions of the same nature, was one of the few that employed their talents in the illustration of the sacred writings. He was a man of great sagacity and genius, who preferred the dictates of reason to the decisions of authority. The other Greek writers who attempted to explain the holy scriptures, did little more than compile various passages from the commentators of the preceding ages; and this method was the origin of those *Catena*, or chains of commentaries, so much in vogue among the Greeks during this century.

VIII. The teachers of theology were still more contemptible than the commentators, and the Greeks, as well as the Latins, were extremely negligent both in unfolding the nature, and proving the doctrines of Christianity. Their method of inculcating divine truth was dry and unsatisfactory, and more adapted to fill the memory with sentences, than to enlighten the understanding, or to improve the judgment.

IX. The doctrine of the mystics, whose origin is falsely attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, had been now for a long time in vogue among the Greeks, and more especially among the monastic



monastic orders. And to augment the credit of it, Michael Syncellus and Methodius composed the most pompous panegyrics upon the memory of Dionysius, in which his virtues were celebrated with the utmost exaggeration. The Latins lived in a happy ignorance of this contagious doctrine, when the Grecian emperor Michael Balbus sent to Lewis the Meek, in the year 824, a copy of the pretended works of Dionysius the Areopagite, which fatal present kindled immediately the flame of mysticism in the western provinces, and filled the Latins with the most enthusiastic admiration of this new religion. The translation of these spurious works into Latin by the express order of the emperor, contributed much to the progress of mysticism. The spuriousness of these works is now universally granted by the most learned and impartial of the Roman catholic writers, as they contain accounts of many of the events that happened several ages after the time of Dionysius, and were not at all mentioned until the fifth century. By the order of the same emperor, Hilduin, abbot of St. Denys, composed an account of the life, actions, and writings of Dionysius, in which work, among other impudent fictions, he maintained that Dionysius the Areopagite, and Dionysius, bishop of Paris, were one and the same person. This fable, which was invented with unparalleled assurance, was received with the most perfect credulity, and made such a deep impression upon the minds of the French, that the repeated demonstrations of its falsehood have not as yet been sufficient to ruin its credit. As the first translation of the works of Dionysius, that had been done by the order of Lewis the Meek, was in a barbarous and obscure style,  
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a more elegant one was given by the famous Johannes Scotus Erigena, at the request of Charles the Bald, the publication of which increased considerably the partisans of the mystic theology among the French, Italians and Germans. Scotus himself was so enchanted with this new doctrine, that he incorporated it into his philosophical system, and upon all occasions either accommodated his philosophy to it, or explained it according to the principles of his philosophy.

X. The triumph of images, notwithstanding the zealous efforts of the Roman pontiffs in their favour, was obtained with much more difficulty among the Latins, than it had been among the Greeks; for the former maintained as yet that invaluable privilege of judging for themselves in religious matters, and were far from being disposed to submit their reason implicitly to the decisions of the pontiffs. The most of the European Christians steered a middle course between those who were zealous for the worship of images on the one hand, and those who were averse to all use of them on the other. They were of opinion, that images might be suffered as a means of helping the faithful, and of calling to their remembrance the virtuous actions of the persons they represented; but they detested all thoughts of paying them the least marks of religious adoration. Michael Balbus, when he sent, in the year 824, a solemn embassy to Lewis the Meek, to confirm the treaties of friendship that had been concluded between his predecessors in the empire and Charlemagne, charged his ministers, in a particular manner, to bring over the king of the Francks to suppress, by their united influence, the  
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the worship of images, and thus restore concord and tranquillity to the church. Lewis, upon this occasion, assembled a council at Paris, A. D. 824, in order to examine the proposal of the Grecian emperor, in which it was resolved to adhere to the decrees of the council of Frankfort, which allowed the *use* of images in the churches, but severely prohibited the treating them with the smallest marks of religious *worship*. But in process of time the European Christians departed gradually from the observance of this injunction, and fell imperceptibly into a blind submission to the decisions of the Roman pontiff. So that towards the conclusion of this century the Gallican clergy began to pay a kind of religious homage to images, in which their example was followed by the Germans and other nations.

XI. Notwithstanding this apostasy, the opposers of image-worship were not destitute of adherents among the Latins. The most eminent of these was Claudius, bishop of Turin. This zealous prelate, as soon as he had obtained the episcopal dignity through the favour of Lewis the Meek, began to exercise the duties of his function in the year 823, by ordering all images, and even the cross, to be cast out of the churches, and committed to the flames. The year following he composed a treatise, in which he not only defended these proceedings, and declared against the *use*, as well as the *worship*, of images, but also advanced several other opinions that were quite contrary to the prejudices of the times. He denied that the cross was to be honoured with any kind of worship; he treated relics with the utmost contempt, and censured with much severity those pilgrimages



to the holy land, and those voyages to the tombs of the saints, which, in this century, were looked upon as particularly meritorious. This noble stand, in the defence of true religion, drew upon Claudius a multitude of adversaries; the sons of superstition rushed upon him from all quarters. But the learned and venerable prelate maintained his ground, and supported his cause with such dexterity and force, that it remained triumphant. And hence it happened that the city of Turin and the adjacent country were, for a long time after the death of Claudius, much less infected with superstition, than the other parts of Europe.

XII. To these disputes of ancient origin were added controversies entirely new, and particularly that famous one *Concerning the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist*. Pascasius Radbert, a monk, and afterwards abbot of Corbey, pretended to explain, and to determine with certainty, the doctrine of the church on this head, for which purpose he composed, in the year 831, a treatise *Concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ*. A second edition of this treatise, revised with care and considerably augmented, was presented in the year 845 to Charles the Bald, and gave occasion to the controversy that ensued. The doctrine of Pascasius amounted in general to the two following propositions: *First*, that, after the consecration of the bread and wine in the Lord's supper, nothing remained of these symbols but the *outward figure*, under which the body and blood of Christ were locally present; and *secondly*, that the body of Christ thus present in the eucharist was the *same body that was born of the Virgin*,

*Virgin, that suffered upon the cross, and was raised from the dead.* This new doctrine, and more especially the second proposition, excited the astonishment of many. Accordingly it was opposed by Rabanus Maurus, Heribald, and others, though they did not all refute it in the same manner. Charles the Bald, upon this occasion, ordered the famous Ratramn and Johannes Scotus to draw up a clear explication of that important doctrine which Radbert seemed to have so egregiously corrupted. These learned divines executed the order of the emperor. The treatise of Scotus perished in the ruins of time, but that of Ratramn is still extant, and furnished ample matter of dispute both in the last and present century.

XIII. It is remarkable that in this controversy the contending parties were divided among themselves. Radbert, who began the dispute, contradicts himself in many places, departs from his own principles, and maintains in one part of his book conclusions that he had disavowed in another. His principal adversary Bertram, or Ratramn, seems in some respects liable to the same charge; he appears to follow in general the doctrine of those, who deny that the body and blood of Christ are *really* present in the holy sacrament, and to affirm that they are only represented by the bread and wine as their signs or symbols. There are, however, several passages in his book which seem inconsistent with this, and have therefore given rise to various disputes. Johannes Scotus, whose philosophical genius rendered him more accurate, was the only disputant in this contest, who expressed his sentiments with perspicuity, method, and consistency,

sistency, and declared plainly that the bread and wine were the *signs* and *symbols* of the *absent* body and blood of Christ. From all this, however, it evidently appears, that there was not as yet in the Latin church any fixed or universally received opinion concerning the manner in which the body and blood of *Christ* are present in the eucharist.

XIV. While this controversy was at its greatest height, another, of a quite different kind arose, whose unhappy consequences are yet felt in the reformed churches. The subject of this new contest was the doctrine of *predestination*, and its rise is universally attributed to Godeschalc, an illustrious Saxon, who had entered involuntarily into the monastic order in the convent of Fulda, from whence he removed to the monastery of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons, where he prosecuted his studies with great assiduity, but also with an insatiable desire of sounding the deepest mysteries. This eminent ecclesiastic, upon his return from Rome in the year 847, took up his lodging for some time with count Eberald, one of the first noblemen at the court of the emperor Lothaire, where he discoursed largely concerning the intricate doctrine of *predestination* in presence of Nothingus, bishop of Verona, and maintained that God from all eternity had pre-ordained some to everlasting life, and others to everlasting misery. Rabanus Maurus, being informed of his propagating this doctrine, opposed him with all his might. He represented Godeschalc as a corrupter of the true religion, in letters addressed to count Eberald, and to the bishop of Verona. And when the accused monk came from



from Italy into Germany to justify himself, and for that purpose appeared at Mentz, of which Rabanus was archbishop, he was condemned in a council assembled in that city, A. D. 848, and sent from thence to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, in whose diocese he had received the order of priesthood. Hincmar assembled a council at Quiercy, A. D. 849, in which Godeschalc was condemned a second time. And because he was firm in maintaining his doctrine, Hincmar degraded him from the priesthood and cast him into prison.

XV. While Godeschalc lay in prison, his doctrine gained him followers, his sufferings excited compassion, and both together produced a considerable schism in the Latin church. Ratramn, monk of Corbey, Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, Loup, or Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres, Remi, archbishop of the same city, and his whole church, with many others, pleaded with the utmost vehemence, both in their writings and in their discourse for these opinions. On the opposite side of the question were Hincmar, Amalarius, the celebrated Johannes Scotus, and others, who all maintained that Godeschalc and his opinions had received the treatment they deserved.

XVI. Of all the controversies that divided Christians in this century, the most lamentable was that which occasioned the fatal schism between the Greek and Latin churches. A spirit of animosity and contention had, for a long time, prevailed between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople. The ambition of these contending prelates grew still more vehement about the time of Leo the Isaurian, when the

bishops of Constantinople, seconded by the authority of the emperors, withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiffs many provinces, over which they had hitherto exercised a spiritual dominion. But it broke forth into a flame, in the year 858, when the learned Photius was chosen patriarch of Constantinople, by the emperor Michael, in the place of Ignatius, whom that prince sent into exile. For, this proceeding, though it was justified by a council assembled at Constantinople in the year 861, was not attended with a general approbation. Ignatius appealed from this council to the Roman pontiff Nicolas I. who espoused his interests, and, in a council assembled at Rome A. D. 862, excommunicated Photius, and his abettors. The new patriarch was so far from being terrified by this excommunication, that he returned the compliment to the Roman pontiff, in a council assembled at Constantinople, in the year 866.

XVII. While things were in this troubled state, and the flame was growing more violent from day to day, Basilus the Macedonian, who, by the murder of his predecessor, had paved his way to the imperial throne, recalled Ignatius from exile to his station, and confined Photius in a monastery. This act of authority was confirmed by a council assembled at Constantinople in the year 869, in which the legates of Adrian II. were treated with the highest marks of distinction. In this council the religious contests between the Latins and the Greeks were concluded, or at least suspended. But the controversy concerning the authority of the Roman pontiffs, and particularly their jurisdiction in Bulgaria, still subsisted,

nor

nor could all the efforts of papal ambition engage either Ignatius or the emperor to give up Bulgaria or any other province to the see of Rome.

XVIII. Mean time Photius not only sent a circular letter to the Oriental patriarchs to engage them to espouse his cause, as the cause of the church, but drew up a most violent charge of heresy against the Roman bishops, who had been sent among the new-converted Bulgarians, and against the church of Rome in general.

XIX. Upon the death of Ignatius, which happened in the year 878, the emperor took Photius into favour, and placed him again at the head of the Greek church in the patriarchal dignity. This restoration of the patriarch was agreed to by the Roman pontiff John VIII. upon condition that Photius would permit the Bulgarians to come under the see of Rome. The latter promised this, to which the emperor also seemed to consent; and John VIII. sent legates to the council at Constantinople A. D. 879, by whom he declared his approbation of the acts of that assembly, and acknowledged Photius as his brother in Christ. The promises, however, of the emperor and the patriarch were not accomplished; for after this council the emperor refused to transfer the province of Bulgaria to the Roman pontiff; and it must be confessed that this refusal was founded upon most important reasons. The pontiff, notwithstanding, was highly irritated, and sent Marinus to Constantinople in the character of legate, to declare that he had changed his mind concerning Photius, and that he approved of the sentence of excommunication formerly given against him. The legate, upon delivering this dis-  
graceful



graceful message, was cast into prison by the emperor, but was afterwards set free; and being raised to the pontificate upon the death of John VIII. levelled a new sentence of condemnation against Photius.

XX. This sentence was treated with contempt by the haughty patriarch; but, in the year 886, Leo, surnamed the *Philosopher*, the son and successor of Basilus, deposed him again, and confined him in an Armenian monastery, where he died in the year 891. The death of Photius might have been an occasion of restoring peace in the church, if the Roman pontiffs had not been regardless of the demands of equity, as well as of the duty of Christian moderation. But they indulged their vindictive zeal beyond all measure, and would be satisfied with nothing less than the degradation of all the priests and bishops, who had been ordained by Photius. The Greeks, on the other hand, were shocked at the arrogance of these unjust pretensions, and would not submit to them on any conditions. Hence a spirit of resentment renewed the disputes, which had been happily declining; new controversies were added to the old, until the fatal schism took place, which produced a lasting and total separation between the Greek and Latin church.

## C H A P. IV.

*Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.*

I. **T**HAT religious rites and ceremonies were multiplied from day to day appears from the labours of those writers who began in this century to explain to the multitude their origin, their nature, and the purposes they served. Johannes Scotus, Angelome, Remi, or Remigius, bishop of Auxerre, and Walafridus Strabo, were the principal authors, who distinguished themselves in this. These illustrations not only encouraged, but augmented prodigiously, and that to the detriment of real piety, the veneration of the multitude for external rites and ceremonies. For who would dare to refuse reverence to institutions, which they were taught to consider as full of the most mysterious wisdom, and founded upon the most pious reasons?

II. Nor was it only in the solemn acts of religious worship that superstition reigned with an unlimited sway; its influence extended even to the affairs of private life, the civil transactions of men, particularly among the Latin Christians, who retained with more obstinacy than the Greeks a multitude of customs, which derived their origin from the sacred rites of paganism. The barbarous nations, which were converted to Christianity, could not support the thoughts of abandoning altogether the laws and manners of their ancestors, however inconsistent with the gospel; nay, they persuaded, on the contrary, the Christians among whom they lived, to imitate

tate their superstition in this respect. And this was the true source of those barbarous institutions that prevailed among the Latins, during this and the following century, such as the various methods by which it was usual for persons accused to prove their innocence in doubtful cases, either by the trial of cold water, by single combat, by the fire ordeal, or by the cross. It is no longer a question in our days, from whence these methods of deciding accusations derived their origin; all agree that they were mere delusions, drawn from the barbarous rites of paganism, and not only opposite to the precepts of the gospel, but absolutely destructive of the spirit of true religion. The pontiffs, however, and the inferior clergy encouraged these superstitions, and went so far as to accompany the practice of them with the celebration of the Lord's supper and other rites, in order to give them a Christian aspect, and to recommend them to the veneration of the multitude.

All these were presumptuous attempts to force the divine providence to declare itself miraculously in favour of the truth. In the trial of *cold water*, the person accused had the right foot and the left hand bound together, and was, in this posture, thrown naked into the water. If he sunk, he was acquitted; but if he floated upon the surface, this was considered as an evidence of guilt. The most respectable authors, ancient and modern, attribute the invention of this to pope Eugenius II. This custom was condemned and abrogated by Lewis the Meek about the year 829. It was, however, revived afterwards, and was practised in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries.



The trial by *duel*, or single combat, was introduced towards the conclusion of the fifth century by Gondebaud, king of the Burgundians, after that the abuse of oaths had opened a door to all sorts of injustice. The *duel* was then added to the oath by Gondebaud; the successful combatant was supposed to be in the right, and this barbarous test of truth and justice was, in spite of humanity and common sense, adopted by the Lombards, French, and Germans, and derived from them to other nations. It was prohibited first in the year 855, in the third council of Valence in Dauphiny.

The *fire ordeal* was practised in various ways. The accused either held a burning ball of iron in his hand, or was obliged to walk bare-foot upon heated plow-shares, whose number was increased in proportion to the number or enormity of the crimes imputed to him; and sometimes a glove of red-hot iron was used on this occasion, as we see in the tenth book of the history of Denmark, by Saxon the *Grammarian*. If in these trials the person impeached remained unhurt, and discovered no signs of pain, he was discharged as innocent; otherwise he was punished as guilty. The first account we have of Christians appealing to this kind of trial as a proof of their innocence, is that of Simplicius, bishop of Autun, who lived in the fourth century.

## C H A P. V.

*Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.*

I. **T**HE sects, that had sprung up in the earlier ages of the church, subsisted still, without almost any change. Such of them as were considerably numerous, fixed their settlements beyond the limits both of the Greek and Latin empires, and thus out of the reach of their enemies. The Nestorians especially, secure under the protection of the Arabians, were extremely industrious in maintaining their credit, and also discovered a warm and active zeal in the propagation of Christianity among those who were yet unacquainted with it.

II. The Greeks, during the greatest part of this century, were engaged in a most bitter controversy with the Paulicians, a sect that may be considered as a branch of the Manicheans, and which resided principally in Armenia. This sect is said to have been formed in Armenia by two brothers, Paul and John, sons of Callinices, and inhabitants of Samosatena, from the former of whom it derives its name. A zealot, called Constantine, received, in the seventh century, this drooping faction. Constans, Justinian II. and Leo the Isaurian, exerted their zeal against the Paulicians with a peculiar degree of bitterness, and left no method of oppression unemployed. But their efforts were ineffectual, nor could all their power, nor all their barbarity, exhaust the patience of that inflexible people, who, with a fortitude worthy of a better cause, made light of the calamities to which their  
erroneous

erroneous doctrine exposed them. The face of things changed, however, to their advantage, towards the commencement of this century, under the protection of the emperor Nicephorus, who restored to them their civil privileges, as well as their religious liberty.

III. Their tranquillity, however, was but of short duration. The rage of persecution broke forth with redoubled violence under the reigns of Michael Curopalates, and Leo the Armenian, who caused the strictest search to be made after the Paulicians in all the provinces, and inflicted capital punishment upon such of them as refused to return to the church. This rigorous decree turned the affliction of the Paulicians, who dwelt in Armenia, into vengeance. They massacred Thomas, bishop of New Cæsarea, and also the magistrates which the emperors had established in Armenia; and afterwards took refuge in the countries that were governed by the Saracens, and thence infested the neighbouring states with perpetual incursions. After these reciprocal acts of cruelty, the Paulicians enjoyed an interval of tranquillity, and returned to their habitations in the Grecian provinces.

IV. But the most dreadful persecution against these wretched heretics, arose from the furious zeal of the empress Theodora. This impetuous woman, who was regent during the minority of her son, issued out a decree, which placed them under the necessity either of abandoning their principles, or of perishing by fire and sword. The decree was severe, but the cruelty, with which it was put in execution, was horrible beyond expression; for, after confiscating the goods of above an hundred thousand of that miserable people, they put their possessors to



death in the most barbarous manner. Such as escaped destruction fled for refuge to the Saracens, who received them with humanity, and permitted them to build a city for their residence, which was called Tibrica. Upon this, they entered into a league with the Saracens, and, chusing for their chief an officer of resolution, whose name was Cerbeas, they declared against the Greeks a war which was carried on with the utmost fury. This bloody war continued during this whole century; the victory seemed often doubtful, but the slaughter was terrible, and the numbers, that perished on both sides, prodigious.

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THE  
TENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The EXTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

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CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the prosperous events, which happened to the church during this century.*

I. **T**HE deplorable state of christianity in this century, is unanimously lamented by various writers. Yet amidst all this darkness some gleams of light were perceived, and several occurrences happened, which deserve a place in the prosperous annals of the church. The Nestorians in Chaldea introduced the Christian religion into Tartary, properly so called, whose inhabitants had hitherto lived in the utmost ignorance and ferocity. The same missionaries spread the knowledge of the gospel among that most powerful nation of the Turks, or Tartars, which went by the name of Karit, and bordered on the northern part of China. Their zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith deserves

the highest encomiums; although the doctrine and worship, which they introduced, were not, in all respects, conformable to the gospel.

II. The prince of that country, whom the Nestorians converted to the Christian faith, assumed, if we may give credit to the vulgar tradition, the name of John after his baptism, to which he added the surname of *Presbyter*, from a principle of modesty. Hence it was, as some imagine, that the successors of this monarch retained these names until the time of Gengis Kan, who flourished in the fourteenth century, and were each of them called *Prefter John*. But this is advanced without any proof; nay, it appears evident, on the contrary, that the famous *Prefter John* did not begin to reign in that part of Asia before the conclusion of the eleventh century.

III. If we turn our eyes to the western world, we shall find the gospel making its way through the most rude and uncivilized nations. The famous arch-pirate Rollo, son of a Norwegian count, being banished from his native land, had, in the preceding century, put himself at the head of a resolute band of Normans, and seized upon one of the maritime provinces of France, from whence he infested the whole country round about with perpetual incursions. In the year 912, this valiant chief embraced, with his whole army, the Christian faith, and that upon the following occasion: Charles the Simple, who wanted power to drive this warlike invader out of his dominions, had recourse to negotiation. He offered to make over to Rollo a considerable part of his territories, upon condition that he would espouse his daughter Gisela, and embrace Christianity. These terms were accepted



cepted by Rollo without hesitation; and his army, following the example of their leader, professed a religion of which they were totally ignorant. These Norman pirates were without religion of any kind, and therefore were not restrained, by prejudice, from embracing a religion which presented to them the most advantageous prospects. They knew no distinction between interest and duty, and they estimated truth and virtue only by profit. It was from this Rollo, who received at his baptism the name of Robert, that the famous line of Norman dukes derived its origin; for the province of Bretagne, and a part of Neustria, which Charles conveyed to his son-in-law by a solemn grant, were, from this time, known by the name of Normandy.

IV. The Christian religion was introduced into Poland by the zealous efforts of female piety. Dambrowka, daughter of Bolislaus, duke of Bohemia, persuaded her husband Micislaus, duke of Poland, to embrace the gospel, A. D. 965. The account of this was no sooner brought to Rome, than the pontiff, John XIII. sent into Poland Ægidius, bishop of Tusculum, attended with a numerous train of ecclesiastics, in order to second the pious efforts of the duke and dutchess, who desired the conversion of their subjects. But the exhortations of these devout missionaries, who were unacquainted with the language of the people, would have been entirely without effect, had they not been accompanied with the penal laws, the promises and threats of Micislaus, which conquered the obstinacy of the reluctant Poles. When therefore the fear of punishment, and the hope of reward, had opened a way for Christianity in Poland, two national archbishops and

seven bishops were consecrated to the ministry, whose zeal and labours were followed with such success, that the whole body of the people abandoned their ancient superstitions, and made profession of the religion of Jesus. It was indeed no more than an external profession; for that inward change which the gospel requires, was far from being an object of attention in this barbarous age.

V. The Christian religion was established in Russia by means similar to those used in Poland; for we must not lay any stress upon the proselytes that were made to Christianity among the Russians in the preceding century; since such of that nation, as, under the reign of Basilus the Macedonian, embraced the doctrine of the Greek church, relapsed soon after into the superstition of their ancestors. Wlodomir, duke of Russia and Moscovy, married, in the year 961, Anne, sister of Basilus, the second Grecian emperor of that name; and this zealous princess persuaded at length her reluctant spouse to receive the Christian faith, and he was accordingly baptized, A. D. 987, assuming the name of Basilus. The Russians followed the example of their prince; and this is the true date of the establishment of Christianity among that people. Wlodomir and his dutchess were placed in the highest order of the Russian saints, and are still worshipped at Kiovia, where they lie interred, with the greatest devotion. The Latins, however, paid no such respect to the memory of Wlodomir, whom they represent as absolutely unworthy of the honour.

VI. The Hungarians had received some faint notions of Christianity under the reign of Charlemagne. These notions, however, were soon extinguished

extinguished by various circumstances: and it was not before this century that the Christian religion obtained a fixed settlement among this warlike people. Towards the middle of this century, Bulosudes and Gylas, two Turkish chiefs, whose governments lay upon the banks of the Danube, made profession of Christianity and were baptized at Constantinople. The former apostatized soon after; while the latter not only persevered in his new profession, but also shewed the most zealous concern for the conversion of his subjects, who were instructed in the doctrines of the gospel by Hierotheus, a learned prelate, by whom he had been accompanied in his journey to Constantinople. Sarolta, the daughter of Gylas, was afterwards given in marriage to Geysa, the chief of the Hungarian nation, whom she persuaded to embrace the Christian religion. But the faith of this new-converted prince was feeble, and he retained a strong propensity to his former superstition; but his apostasy was prevented by Adalbert, archbishop of Prague, who came into Hungary towards the conclusion of this century, and by whom also Stephen, the son of Geysa, was baptized with great solemnity. It was to this young prince that the gospel was principally indebted for its establishment among the Hungarians. For he perfected, what his father and grandfather had only begun; fixed bishops, with large revenues in various places; erected magnificent temples for divine worship; and, by the influence of instructions, threatenings, rewards, and punishments, he brought his subjects, almost without exception, to abandon the superstition of their ancestors.



VII. The Christian religion was in a very unsettled state among the Danes under the reign of Gormon, and, notwithstanding the protection it received from his queen, who professed it publicly, was obliged to struggle with many difficulties. The face of things changed after the death of Gormon. His son Harald, being defeated by Otho the Great, A. D. 949, embraced the gospel, and was baptized together with his consort and his son Sueno, or Swein, by Adaldagus, archbishop of Hamburg. It is probable that Harald, educated by his mother Tyra, a Christian, was not averse to the religion of Jesus; but it is certain, that his conversion was less the effect of his own choice, than of the commands of his victorious enemy. For Otho, persuaded that the Danes would never desist from their hostile incursions, as long as they persevered in the religion of their ancestors, made it the condition of the peace, which he concluded with Harald, that both he and his subjects should receive the Christian faith. Upon the conversion of this prince, Adaldagus and Poppon employed their labours among the Cimbrians and Danes, to engage them to imitate such an illustrious example; and their exhortations were crowned with remarkable success, to which the stupendous miracles performed by Poppon are said to have contributed much. These miracles, indeed, derived their origin from human art, and not from divine interposition. As long as Harald lived, he used every method of confirming his subjects in the religion they had embraced. For this purpose he established bishops in several parts of his dominions, enacted excellent laws, abrogated superstitious customs, and imposed severe restraints upon all vicious

vicious and immoral practices. But after all these salutary measures, his son Sueno, or Swein, apostatized from the truth, and involved the Christians in the deepest calamities and distress. He felt, however, in his turn, the heavy strokes of adversity, which happily brought him to a better mind; for being driven from his kingdom, and obliged to seek his safety among the Scots, he embraced anew the religion he had abandoned, and upon his restoration to his dominions, exerted the most ardent zeal in the cause of Christianity.

VIII. It was in this century, that the first dawn of the gospel arose upon the Norwegians. The conversion of that people was attempted, in the year 933, by their monarch Hagen Adelsteen, who had been educated among the English, and who employed certain ecclesiastics of that nation to instruct his subjects in Christianity. But his efforts were rendered fruitless by the brutal obstinacy with which the Norwegians persevered in their ancient prejudices, and the zeal with which his successor Harald Graufeldt pursued the same plan, was also without effect. The succeeding princes, far from being discouraged, persisted firmly in their purpose, and Haco, among others, yielding to the entreaties of Harald, king of Denmark, to whom he was indebted for the Norwegian crown, embraced, himself, the Christian religion, and recommended it with the greatest fervour to his subjects, in an assembly of the people that was held in the year 945. This recommendation, notwithstanding the solemnity with which it was accompanied, made little impression upon the minds of this barbarous people; nor were they entirely gained over by the zealous endeavours of

of Olaus, though the pious diligence of that prince, which procured him the honour of sainthood, was not altogether without effect. But that which gave the finishing stroke to the conversion of the Norwegians was their subjection to Swein, or Swein, king of Sweden, who having defeated their monarch Olaus Tryggveson, became master of Norway, and obliged its inhabitants to abandon the gods of their ancestors. Among the various doctors that were sent to instruct this barbarous people, the most eminent was Guthebold, an English priest. From Norway, Christianity spread through the adjacent countries, and was preached in the Orkney islands, which were, at this time, subject to the Norwegian kings, and also in Iceland and Old Greenland; and the greatest part of these countries received the gospel.

**IX.** In Germany, Otho the Great, contributed, in a signal manner, to promote the interest of Christianity. This truly great prince was constantly employed in extirpating the remains of the ancient superstitions, and in confirming the infant church, which in several provinces had not yet arrived to any vigour. That there might be rulers and pastors to govern the church, he erected and endowed the bishoprics of Brandenburg, Havelberg, Meissen, Magdeburg, and Naumburg; by which excellent establishments the church was furnished with eminent doctors from various parts, whose instructions were the occasion of raising up new labourers, and multiplying the ministers of Christ from time to time. It was also through the munificence of the same prince, that many convents were erected, and it was by his order that schools were established in almost every city for the education



education of youth. All this may shew us the zeal of this illustrious emperor, whose merit would have surpassed the highest encomiums, had his prudence and moderation been equal to his piety, and the uprightness of his intentions. But the superstition of his empress, and the deplorable ignorance of the times deluded this good prince into the notion, that he obliged the Deity in proportion as he loaded the clergy with riches and honours. In consequence of this, his opulence flowed into the church like an over-grown torrent, so that the bishops, monks, and religious houses, wallowed in wealth. But the sacred orders employed this opulence in waging war against all who opposed their ambitious pretensions, and in purchasing the various pleasures of a luxurious and effeminate life.

X. The European kings and princes began so early as this century to form the project of a holy war against the Mahometans who were masters of Palestine. They considered it as a reproach upon Christians, that the land in which the divine author of their religion had received his birth, and made expiation for the sins of men, should be abandoned to the enemies of the Christian name. They also looked upon it as just to avenge the calamities and injuries, the persecution and reproach, which its professors had suffered under the Mahometan yoke. The bloody signal was accordingly given towards the conclusion of this century, by the Roman pontiff Sylvester II. in the first year of his pontificate. And this signal was an epistle, wrote in the name of the *church of Jerusalem*, to the *church universal throughout the world*, in which the European powers are solemnly exhorted to deliver the Christians in Palestine.

## C H A P. II.

*Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.*

I. **T**HE Christian religion suffered less in this century from the cruelty of its enemies, than from the defection of its friends. Of all the Pagan monarchs, under whose government the Christians lived, none tormented them with the execution of penal laws, except Gormon and Swein, kings of Denmark. Notwithstanding this, their affairs were far from being in a flourishing state; nay, their situation was full of peril, both in the eastern and western provinces. The Saracens in Asia and Africa, amidst the intestine divisions under which they groaned, and the calamities that overwhelmed them from different quarters, were extremely assiduous in propagating every where the doctrines of Mahomet. Multitudes of Christians fell into their snares; and the Turks, a valiant and fierce nation, who inhabited the northern coast of the Caspian sea, received their doctrine. But the uniformity of religion did not produce a solid union between the Turks and Saracens; on the contrary, their quarrels were never more violent, than from the time that Mahomet became their common chief in religious matters. The succours of the former were implored by the Persians, whose country was a prey to the ambitious usurpations of the latter, and these succours were granted with the utmost readiness. The Turks accordingly fell upon the Saracens in a furious manner, drove them out of the Persian territories, and afterwards, with incredible rapidity,

pidity invaded, seized, and plundered the other provinces that belonged to that people, whose desolation came on like a whirlwind. Thus the powerful empire of the Saracens, which its enemies had for so many years attempted in vain to overturn, fell at last by the hands of its friends. The Turks accomplished what the Greeks and Romans ineffectually aimed at; they struck suddenly that dreadful blow, which ruined at once the affairs of the Saracens in Persia, and deprived them, by degrees, of their other dominions. And thus the Ottoman empire, which was still a terror to the Christians, was established upon the ruins of the Saracen dominion.

II. In the western provinces, the Christians had much to suffer from the hatred of those who remained under the darkness of paganism. The Normans, during a great part of this century, committed, in several parts of France, the most barbarous hostilities. The Sarmatians, Sclavonians, Bohemians, and others, who had conceived an aversion for the gospel, not only endeavoured to extirpate Christianity out of their own territories by the most barbarous violence, but infested the adjacent countries, where it was professed, with fire and sword, and left, wherever they went, the most dreadful marks of their unrelenting fury. The Danes, moreover, did not cease to molest the Christians, until they were subdued by Otho the Great, and thus from being the enemies became the friends of the Christian cause. The Hungarians also contributed to the sufferings of the church, by their incursions into several parts of Germany, which they turned into scenes of desolation and misery; while the fierce Arabs, by their tyranny in Spain, and their depredations in Italy and

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the neighbouring islands, spread calamity all around them, of which, no doubt, the Christians established in these parts had the heaviest portion.

III. Whoever considers the endless vexations, persecutions, and calamities, which the Christians suffered from the nations that continued in their ancient superstitions, will easily perceive the reason of that fervent zeal, which Christian princes discovered for the conversion of these nations, whose savage fury they experienced from time to time. A principle of self-preservation, and a regard to their own safety, as well as a pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel, engaged them to put in practice every method that might open the eyes of their barbarous adversaries. Hence it was, that Christian kings and emperors left no means unemployed to draw these infidels within the pale of the church. For this purpose, they proposed to their chiefs alliances of marriage, offered them certain districts and territories, auxiliary troops to maintain them against their enemies, upon condition that they would abandon the superstition of their ancestors, which was so proper to nourish their ferocity, and to increase their passion for blood and carnage. These offers were attended with the desired success, as they induced the infidel chiefs not only to lend an ear themselves to the instructions of the Christian missionaries, but also to oblige their subjects and armies to follow their examples in this respect.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT TIMES. BY JOHN BISHOP, D.D. VOLUME THE SECOND. LONDON: Printed by J. B. 1740.

## P A R T II.

## The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

## CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.*

I. **T**HE deplorable ignorance of this barbarous age, in which the arts were totally neglected, and the sciences seemed to be upon the point of expiring, is unanimously confessed by all writers. Nor will this fatal revolution, in the republic of letters, appear astonishing to such as consider, on the one hand, the terrible tumults and wars that turned all things into confusion, and, on the other, the stupidity and dissoluteness of those sacred orders who had been appointed as the guardians of truth and learning. Leo, surnamed the *Philosopher*, who ascended the throne of the Greeks towards the commencement of this century, was himself an eminent lover of learning, and a zealous protector of such as distinguished themselves in the sciences. This noble disposition appeared still greater in his son Constantine Porphyrogeneta, who not only discovered the greatest ardour for the revival of the arts and sciences, but also employed the most effectual measures for the accomplishment of this excellent purpose. It was with this view that he spared no expence in drawing to his court a variety of learned men, each of

whom excelled in some of the different branches of literature, and in causing the most diligent search to be made after the writings of the ancients. With this view, also, he became himself an author, and thus animated by his example, as well as by his protection, men of genius and abilities to enrich the sciences with their productions. He employed, moreover, a considerable number of able pens, in making valuable extracts from the compositions of the ancients; which extracts were preserved in certain places for the satisfaction of the curious; and thus this learned prince restored the arts and sciences to a degree of life and vigour. But few of the Greeks followed this illustrious example; nor were there any among the succeeding emperors who equalled these two excellent princes in zeal for the advancement of learning.

II. Yet we find among the Greek writers of this century but a small number, who acquired reputation in the republic of letters; so that the fair prospects which seemed to arise, vanished in a short time; and though the seeds of science were richly sown, the expectations of an abundant harvest were unhappily disappointed. Nor did the cause of philosophy succeed better than that of literature. Philosophers indeed there were; and, among them, some that were not destitute of abilities; but none who rendered their names immortal by productions that were worthy of being transmitted to posterity: a certain number of rhetoricians and grammarians: a few poets who were above contempt; and several historians, who were not totally void of merit: such were the members which composed at this time the republic of letters in Greece.

III. Egypt,



III. Egypt, though at this time it groaned under a heavy bondage, produced writers, who in genius and learning were in no wise inferior to the most eminent of the Grecians. Such was Eutychius, bishop of Alexandria, who cultivated the sciences of physic and theology with the greatest success. The Arabians, during this whole century, preserved that passion for the arts and sciences, which had been kindled among them in the preceding age; and hence they abounded with physicians, mathematicians, and philosophers.

IV. The Latins present to us a spectacle of a very different kind. They were, almost without exception, sunk in the most brutish ignorance; so that, according to the unanimous accounts of the most credible writers, nothing could be more deplorable than the darkness that reigned in the western world during this century, which, with respect to learning at least, may be called the *Iron Age* of the Latins. It is true, there were public schools in most of the European provinces, some in the monasteries, and the rest in those cities where the bishops resided. It is also true, that there shone forth from time to time, especially towards the conclusion of this century, some, who cast a few rays of light upon the darkness of a barbarous age. But they were very few in number, and this is a sufficient proof of the infelicity of the times in which they appeared.

V. They who were the most learned and judicious among the monastic orders, applied themselves to the composition of histories, which favoured of the barbarism of the times. Several of the poets of this age gave marks of true genius, but they were strangers to the poetic

art, which was not indeed necessary to satisfy a people, utterly destitute of taste. The grammarians and rhetoricians of these unhappy times are scarcely worthy of mention. The same judgment may be formed in general of the geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music, which were more or less taught in the public schools.

VI. The philosophy of the Latins extended no farther than the single science of *logic*, which they looked upon as the sum and substance of all human wisdom. But this logic was drawn without the least perspicuity or method from a book of *Categories*, which some unjustly attribute to Augustin, and others to Porphyry. It is true, indeed, that the *Timæus* of Plato, the *Topica* of Cicero and Aristotle, with other compositions of the Greeks and Latins, were in the hands of several of the doctors of this century; but the true sense of these excellent authors was understood by almost none of those that perused them daily.

VII. The drooping sciences found an illustrious patron, towards the conclusion of this century, in the learned Gerbert, a native of France, who, upon his elevation to the pontificate, assumed the title of Sylvester II. The genius of this pontiff was extensive, embracing all the different branches of literature; but its more peculiar bent was turned towards mathematical studies. Mechanics, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and every other kind of knowledge that had the least affinity to these sciences, were cultivated by this restorer of learning with the most ardent zeal, and not without success. Nor did he stop here; but employed every method that was proper to animate others to the culture of the liberal arts and

and sciences. The effects of this were visible in Germany, France, and Italy, both in this and the following century; as by the writings, example, and exhortations of Gerbert, many were excited to the study of physic, mathematics, and philosophy, and in general to the pursuit of science in all its branches. If, indeed, we compare this learned pontiff with the mathematicians of modern times, his *geometry*, though it be easy and perspicuous, is but elementary and superficial. Yet such as it was, it was marvellous in an age of darkness, and surpassed the comprehension of those, whose eyes, under the direction of Gerbert, were but just beginning to open upon the light. Hence it was, that the geometrical figures, described by this pontiff, were regarded by the monks as magical operations, and the pontiff himself was treated as a magician and a disciple of Satan.

VIII. It was not, however, to his genius alone, that Gerbert was indebted for his knowledge. He had derived a part of it, particularly in physic, mathematics, and philosophy, from the Arabians, who were settled in Spain. Thither he repaired in pursuit of knowledge, and spent some time in the seminaries of learning at Cordoua and Seville, with a view to hear the Arabian doctors; and it was by his example, that the Europeans were engaged to have recourse to this source of instruction in after-times. For, from the time of Gerbert, such of the Europeans as were ambitious of making any considerable progress in physic, arithmetic, geometry, or philosophy, entertained eager desires of receiving instruction either from the lessons, or from the writings, of the Arabian philosophers, who had founded schools in several parts



parts of Spain and Italy. Hence it was, that the most celebrated productions of these doctors were translated into Latin, their tenets adopted with zeal in the European schools, and that numbers went over to Spain and Italy to receive instruction from the mouths of these famous teachers.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government, during this century,*

I. **T**O those who consider the solemn nature of the ministerial character, the corruptions of the clergy must appear deplorable beyond expression. These corruptions were mounted to the most enormous height in this dismal period of the church. Both in the eastern and western provinces, the clergy were, for the most part, composed of a most worthless set of men, shamefully illiterate and stupid, ignorant more especially in religious matters, equally enslaved to sensuality and superstition, and capable of the most flagitious deeds. This dismal degeneracy of the sacred order was principally owing to the rulers of the church, who indulged themselves in the commission of the most odious crimes, and abandoned themselves to the impulse of the most licentious passions; who confounded, in short, all difference between just and unjust, to satisfy their impious ambition; and whose spiritual empire was such a diversified scene of iniquity and violence, as never was exhibited under any of those temporal tyrants, who have been the scourges of mankind.

II. As

II. As to the popes, after the death of Lando, which happened in the year 914, Alberic, count of Tuscany, whose opulence was prodigious, and whose authority in Rome was unlimited, obtained the pontificate for John X. archbishop of Ravenna, in compliance with the solicitation of Theodora, his mother-in-law, whose lewdness was the principle that interested her in this promotion. This infamous election will not surprise such as know that the laws of Rome were at this time absolutely silent; that the dictates of justice were overpowered; and that all things were carried on in that great city by interest or corruption, by violence or fraud. John X. though in other respects a scandalous example of iniquity and lewdness, acquired a degree of reputation by his campaign against the Saracens, whom he drove from the settlements they had made upon the banks of the Garigliano. He did not, however, enjoy his glory long; the enmity of Marozia, daughter of Theodora, and wife of Alberic, proved fatal to him. For this bloody-minded woman having espoused Wido, or Guy, marquis of Tuscany, after the death of her first consort, engaged him to seize the wanton pontiff, who was her mother's lover, and to put him to death in the prison where he lay confined. This licentious pontiff was succeeded by Leo VI. who sat but seven months in the apostolic chair, which was filled after him by Stephen VII. The death of this latter, in the year 931, presented to the ambition of Marozia, an object worthy of its grasp; and accordingly she raised to the papal dignity John XI. who was the fruit of her lawless amours with one of the pretended successors of St. Peter, Sergius III. whose adulterous commerce with  
that

that infamous woman gave an *infallible* guide to the Roman church.

III. John XI. who was placed at the head of the church by the credit of his mother, was pulled down A. D. 933. by Alberic his half-brother. His mother Marozia had, after the death of Wido, entered anew into the bonds of matrimony with Hugo, king of Italy, who, having offended his step-son Alberic, felt severely the weight of his resentment, which vented its fury upon the whole family; for Alberic drove out of Rome not only Hugo, but also Marozia and her son the pontiff, and confined them in prison, where the latter ended his days in the year 936. The four pontiffs, who, in their turns, succeeded John XI. and filled the papal chair until the year 956, were Leo VII. Stephen VIII. Marinus II. and Agapet. Upon the death of Agapet, Alberic II. who to the dignity of Roman consul joined a degree of authority which nothing could resist, raised to the pontificate his son Octavian, who was destitute of every quality that was requisite to discharge the duties of that important office. This unworthy pontiff assumed the name of John XII. and thus introduced the custom, that has since been adopted by all his successors, of changing their name upon their accession to the pontificate.

IV. The fate of John XII. was as unhappy as his promotion had been scandalous. Unable to bear the oppressive yoke of Berenger II. king of Italy, he sent ambassadors, in the year 960, to Otho the Great, entreating him to march into Italy, to deliver the church and the people from the tyranny under which they groaned. To these entreaties the perplexed pontiff added a solemn



solemn promise, that, if the German monarch came to his assistance, he would array him with the purple and the other ensigns of sovereignty, and proclaim him emperor of the Romans. Otho received this embassy with pleasure, marched into Italy at the head of a large body of troops, and was accordingly saluted by John with the title of emperor of the Romans. The pontiff, however, soon repented of the step he had taken, and, though he had sworn allegiance to the emperor in the most solemn manner, yet he broke his oath, and joined with Adalbert, the son of Berenger, against Otho. This revolt was not unpunished. The emperor returned to Rome in the year 964, called a council, before which he accused and convicted the pontiff of many crimes; and, after having degraded him, in the most ignominious manner, from his high office, he appointed Leo VIII. to fill his place.

V. The pontiffs who governed the see of Rome from Leo VIII. who died A. D. 965, to Gerbert or Sylvester II. who was raised to the pontificate towards the conclusion of this century, were more happy in their administration, as well as more decent in their conduct, than their infamous predecessors; yet none of them so exemplary as to deserve the applause that is due to eminent virtue.

VI. Amidst these frequent commotions, and even amidst the repeated enormities and flagitious crimes of those who gave themselves out for Christ's vice-gerents upon earth, the power of the Roman pontiffs increased imperceptibly from day to day; such were the effects of that ignorance and superstition that reigned in these miserable times. Otho the Great had indeed published a solemn edict, prohibiting the election of

of any pontiff without the consent of the emperor; which remained in force to the conclusion of this century. The same emperor, as likewise his son and grandson, who succeeded him in the empire, maintained, without interruption, their right of supremacy over the city of Rome, its territory, and its pontiff. It is equally certain, that the German, French, and Italian bishops, who were not ignorant of the nature of their privileges, and the extent of their jurisdiction, were, during this whole century, perpetually upon their guard against every attempt, the Roman pontiff might make, to assume to himself *alone* a legislative authority in the church. But, notwithstanding all this, the bishops of Rome found means of augmenting their influence, and partly by open violence, partly by stratagems, encroached not only upon the privileges of the bishops, but also upon the rights of kings and emperors. Their attempts were seconded by the scandalous adulation of mercenary prelates, who exalted the prerogatives of, what they called, the apostolic see in the most extravagant terms. In this century certain bishops maintained publicly that the Roman pontiffs were bishops of the whole world, an assertion which hitherto none had ventured to make.

VII. The ambition of the bishops of Rome, who left no means unemployed to extend their jurisdiction, exhibited an example which the inferior prelates followed with indefatigable emulation. Several bishops and abbots had begun, even from the time that the descendants of Charlemagne sat on the imperial throne, to enlarge their prerogatives, and had actually obtained, for their tenants and their possessions,

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an immunity from the jurisdiction of other magistrates, as also from taxes of all kinds. But in this century they carried their pretensions farther; aimed at the civil jurisdiction over the territories in which they exercised a spiritual dominion, and aspired after nothing less than the authority of dukes, marquises, and counts of the empire. Among the principal circumstances that animated their zeal in the pursuit of these dignities, we may reckon the bitter contests concerning jurisdiction and other matters, that reigned between the dukes and counts, who were governors of cities, and the bishops and abbots, who were their ghostly rulers. The latter therefore, seizing the favourable opportunity that was offered by the superstition of the times, used every method to obtain that high rank, that hitherto stood in the way of their ambition. And the emperors and kings to whom they addressed their requests, generally granted them, either from a desire of pacifying the contentions that arose between civil and military magistrates, or from a reverence for the sacred order, or with a view to augment their own authority, and to confirm their dominion by the services of the bishops, whose influence was very great upon the people. Such were the different motives that engaged princes to enlarge the authority of the clergy; and hence we see from this century so many bishops and abbots cloathed with the honours of dukes, marquises, counts, and viscounts.

VIII. Besides the gross ignorance of the Latin clergy, they were also chargeable, in a very heinous degree, with two other enormous vices, even *concubinage* and *simony*. As to the first of these, it was practised openly. The priests, and



what is still more, even the monks, fell victims to the triumphant charms of the sex, and entering into wedlock or concubinage, squandered away, with their wives and mistresses, the revenues of the church. The other vice reigned with equal licentiousness. The election of bishops and abbots was no longer made according to the laws of the church; but kings and princes, or their ministers and favourites, either conferred these dignities upon their friends and creatures, or sold them, without shame, to the highest bidder. Hence it happened, that the most stupid and flagitious wretches were frequently advanced to the most important stations in the church, and that, upon several occasions, even soldiers, civil magistrates, counts, and such like persons, were, by a strange metamorphosis, converted into bishops and abbots.

IX. While the monastic orders, among the Greeks and Orientals, maintained still an external appearance of religion, the Latin monks had so entirely lost sight of all discipline, that the greatest part of them knew not even by name the rule of St. Benedict, which they were obliged to observe. A noble Frank, whose name was Odo, a man as learned and pious as the ignorance of the times would permit, endeavoured to remedy this disorder; nor were his attempts totally unsuccessful. This zealous ecclesiastic being created, in the year 927, abbot of Clugni, in the province of Burgundy, not only obliged the monks to live in a rigorous observance of their rules, but also added to their discipline a new set of rites and ceremonies. This new rule of discipline covered its author with glory, and, in a short time, was adopted in all the European convents; for the greatest  
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part of the ancient monasteries, which had been founded in France, Germany, Italy, Britain, and Spain, received the rule of the monks of Clugni, to which also the convents, newly established, were subjected by their founders. And thus it was, that the *Order of Clugni* arrived to that high degree of authority, opulence, and dignity, which it exhibited in the following century.

X. The more eminent Greek writers of this century are easily numbered; among them was Simeon, high treasurer of Constantinople, who, from his giving a new and more elegant style to the *Lives of the Saints*, which had been originally composed in a gross and barbarous language, was distinguished by the title of *Metaphrast*, or *Translator*. He did not, however, content himself with digesting, polishing, and embellishing the chronicle, but went so far as to augment it with a multitude of trifling fables drawn from his own imagination.

Among the Arabians no author acquired a higher reputation than Eutyehius, bishop of Alexandria, whose *Annals*, with several other productions of his, are still extant.

The most eminent of the Latin writers of this century was Gerbert, or Sylvester II. who has already been mentioned. The other writers of this age were far from being eminent in any respect.

## C H A P. III.

*Concerning the doctrine of the church in this century.*

I. **T**HE state of religion was such as might be expected in times of ignorance and corruption. The most important doctrines of Christianity were disfigured in the most wretched manner, and obscured with a multitude of vain opinions and idle fancies. Both Greeks and Latins placed the essence of religion in the worship of images and departed saints, in searching after, and preserving, the sacred relics of holy men and women, and in accumulating riches upon the priests and monks, whose opulence increased with the progress of superstition. Scarcely did any Christian dare to approach the throne of God, without rendering first the saints and images propitious. The ardour also, with which relics were sought, surpasses credibility; it had seized all orders among the people, and was grown into a sort of frenzy; and, if the monks are to be believed, the Supreme Being interposed, in an especial manner, to discover to old wives and bare-headed friars the places where the bones or carcases of the saints lay dispersed or interred. The fears of purgatory, of that fire that was to destroy the impurities of departed souls, were now carried to the greatest height, and exceeded by far the apprehensions of infernal torments; for they hoped to avoid the latter easily, by dying enriched with the prayers of the clergy, or covered with the merits of the saints; while from the pains of purgatory they believed there was no exemption. The



The clergy, therefore, finding these terrors admirably adapted to increase their authority and to promote their interest, used every method to augment them, and by the most pathetic discourses, accompanied with monstrous fables and fictitious miracles, laboured to establish the doctrine of purgatory, and also to make it appear that they had a mighty influence in that formidable region.

II. The contests concerning predestination and the eucharist, were in this century happily reduced to silence. This was owing to the mutual toleration that was practised by the contending parties, who left it to each other's free choice to retain, or to change, their former opinions. Besides, the ignorance and stupidity of this degenerate age were ill suited to such deep inquiries. This mutual toleration must not be attributed either to the wisdom or virtue of the age. The truth is, the divines of this century wanted both the capacity and the inclination to attack or defend any doctrine, whose refutation or defence required the smallest portion of learning or logic.

III. The whole Christian world was covered, at this time, with a thick and gloomy veil of superstition. This horrible cloud, which hid almost every ray of truth from the eyes of the multitude, furnished a favourable opportunity to the priests and monks of propagating many absurd and ridiculous opinions. Among these none occasioned such a universal panic, as a notion which now prevailed of the immediate approach of the day of judgment. This notion was advanced publicly by many at this time, and spreading itself with an amazing rapidity through the European provinces, it threw them into the deepest consternation. Hence prodigious

gious numbers of people abandoned all their civil connexions and relations, and giving to the churches or monasteries all their lands and worldly effects, repaired to Palestine, where they imagined that Christ would descend from heaven to judge the world. Others devoted themselves by a solemn oath to the service of the churches, convents, and priesthood, whose slaves they became, in the most rigorous sense, performing daily their heavy tasks; and all this from a notion, that the Supreme Judge would diminish the severity of their sentence, on account of their having made themselves the slaves of his ministers. When an eclipse of the sun or moon happened, the cities were deserted, and their inhabitants fled for refuge to hollow caverns, and hid themselves among the craggy rocks, and under the summits of steep mountains. The opulent attempted to bribe the Deity by rich donations conferred upon the sacerdotal and monastic orders. In many places, temples, palaces, and noble edifices, both public and private, were suffered to decay, nay, were deliberately pulled down, from a notion that they were no longer of any use since the dissolution of all things was at hand.

IV. The number of the saints, who were looked upon as ministers of the kingdom of heaven, was now multiplied every where. This may be easily accounted for, when we consider that superstition, the source of fear, was grown to such an enormous height, as rendered the creation of new patrons necessary to calm the anxiety of trembling mortals. Besides, the licentiousness and dissoluteness that had infected all orders of men, rendered the reputation of sanctity very easy to be acquired; for amidst such a

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perverse generation, it demanded no great efforts of virtue to be esteemed holy. All those, to whom nature had given an austere complexion, or an enthusiastic imagination, were revered as the favourites of heaven, and as the friends of God.

The Roman pontiff now pretended to the right of creating saints by his sole authority; although in the preceding ages there is no example of his having exercised this privilege alone. This specimen was given in the year 993, by John XV. who, by a solemn canonization, enrolled Udalric, bishop of Augsburgh, in the number of the saints, and thus conferred upon him a title to the worship of Christians. We must not, however, conclude that after this period the privilege of canonizing new saints was vested solely in the Roman pontiffs; for there are several examples upon record, which prove, that not only provincial councils, but also several of the first order among the bishops, advanced to the rank of saints, such as they thought worthy, without ever consulting the Roman pontiff, until the twelfth century. Then Alexander III. abrogated this privilege of the bishops and councils, and placed *canonization* in the number of the acts of authority, which the sovereign pontiff alone was entitled to exercise.

V. The expositors and commentators, who attempted in this century to explain the sacred writings, were too mean in their abilities to deserve almost any notice. Among the Latins Remi, or Remigius, bishop of Auxerre, continued the exposition of the holy scriptures, which he had begun in the preceding century; but his work is highly defective in various respects; for he takes very little pains in explain-  
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ing the literal sense of the words, and employs the whole force of his fantastic genius in unfolding their pretended mystical signification.

VI. The science of theology was absolutely abandoned in this century; nor did either the Greek or Latin church furnish any writer, who attempted to explain in a regular method the doctrines of Christianity. The Greeks were contented with the works of Damascenus, and the Latins with those of Augustin and Gregory, who were now considered as the greatest doctors that had adorned the church. Some added to these the writings of venerable Bede and Rabanus Maurus. The important science of morals was still more neglected than that of theology, and was reduced to a certain number of dry and insipid homilies, and to the lives of the saints, which Simeon among the Greeks, and Hubald, Odo, and Stephen among the Latins, had drawn up.

VII. The controversies between the Greek and Latin churches were now carried on with less impetuosity, on account of the calamities of the times; yet they were not reduced to silence. The writers therefore who affirm, that this unhappy schism was healed, for a time, have grossly mistaken the matter; though it be true, that the tumults of the times produced now and then a cessation of these contests. The Greeks were, moreover, divided among themselves concerning the lawfulness of fourth marriages, to which violent contest the case of Leo, surnamed the *Philosopher*, gave rise. This emperor, having buried successively three wives without any male issue, espoused a fourth. As marriages repeated the fourth time were held unlawful by the Greek canons, Nicolas, the patriarch of Constantinople, suspended

suspended the emperor, from the communion of the church. Leo, incensed at this, deprived Nicolas of the patriarchal dignity, and raised Euthymius to that high office, who, though he re-admitted the emperor to the bosom of the church, yet opposed the law which he had resolved to enact in order to render fourth marriages lawful. Upon this a schism, attended with the bitterest animosities, divided the clergy, one part of which declared for Nicolas, the other for Euthymius. In order to appease these tumults, Constantine Porphyrogenneta, the son of Leo, called together an assembly of the clergy of Constantinople in the year 920, in which fourth marriages were prohibited, and marriages for the third time permitted on certain conditions; and thus the public tranquillity was restored.

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#### C H A P. IV.

*Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.*

I. **I**N order to have some notion of the load of ceremonies, under which the Christian religion groaned during this age, we have only to cast an eye upon the acts of the various councils which were assembled in England, Germany, France, and Italy. The number of ceremonies increased in proportion to that of the saints, which multiplied from day to day; for each new patron had appropriated to his service, a new festival, and a new round of religious rites. It is also to be observed, that a great part of these new rites derived their origin from the various errors, which the barbarous nations had received

received from their ancestors, and still retained, even after their conversion to Christianity.

II. The famous yearly festival in remembrance of *all departed souls*, was instituted by the authority of Odilo, abbot of Clugni, and added to the Latin calendar towards the conclusion of this century. Before this time, a custom had been introduced in many places of putting up prayers on certain days, for the souls that were confined in purgatory; but these prayers were made by each religious society, only for its own members, friends, and patrons. The pious zeal of Odilo could not be confined within such narrow limits; and he therefore extended the benefit of these prayers to all the souls that laboured under the pains of *purgatory*. This was owing to the exhortations of a Sicilian hermit, who pretended to have learned, by an immediate revelation from heaven, that the prayers of the monks of Clugni would be effectual for the deliverance of departed spirits from the expiatory flames. Accordingly this festival was, at first, celebrated only by the *congregation of Clugni*; but having received afterwards the approbation of one of the Roman pontiffs, it was, by his order, kept in all the Latin churches.

III. The worship of the Virgin Mary, which before had been carried to a high degree of idolatry, received now new accessions. Towards the conclusion of this century, a custom was introduced among the Latins of celebrating masses and abstaining from flesh, in honour of the blessed Virgin, every Sabbath day. After this was instituted, what the Latins called, the *lesser office*, in honour of St. Mary, which was, in the following century, confirmed by Urban II. in the council of Clermont. There are also



to be found in this age manifest indications of the institution of the *rosary*, and *crown* of the Virgin, by which her worshippers were to reckon the number of prayers that they were to offer to this new divinity; for though some place the invention of the *Rosary* in the thirteenth century, and attribute it to St. Dominic, yet this supposition is made without any foundation. The *rosary* consists in fifteen repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and an hundred and fifty salutations of the blessed Virgin; while the *crown* consists in six or seven repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and six or seven times ten salutations, or *Ave Marias*.

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## C H A P. V.

*Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.*

I. **T**HE profound ignorance and stupidity in this century, had at least this advantage attending them, that they contributed much to the tranquillity of the church, and prevented the rise of new sects. But, though no new inventions were broached, the ancient errors still remained. The Nestorians lived still under the Arabian government, where they were often persecuted. But as some of them excelled in medical knowledge, which was highly esteemed among the Arabians, while others rendered themselves acceptable to the great, by the dexterous management of their domestic affairs, as overseers and stewards, this contributed to diminish the storms that arose against them from time to time.

II. The

II. The Manicheans gathered considerable strength in Thrace under the reign of John Tzimisce. A great part of this sect had been transported into this province, by the order of Constantine Copronymus, so early as the seventh century, to put an end to the troubles they had excited in the east; but a still greater number of them were left behind, especially in Syria and the adjacent countries. Hence it was, that Theodore, bishop of Antioch, engaged the emperor, by his importunate solicitations, to send a new colony of them from Syria to Philippi. From Thrace they passed into Bulgaria and Sclavonia, where they resided under the jurisdiction of their own patriarch, until the time of the council of Basil, i. e. until the fifteenth century. From Bulgaria they removed to Italy, and spreading themselves from thence through the other provinces of Europe, they became extremely troublesome to the Roman pontiffs upon many occasions.

III. There were yet subsisting some remains of the Arians in several parts of Italy, and particularly in the territory of Padua; but Rathorius, bishop of Verona, had a still more enormous heresy to combat in the system of the Anthropomorphites, which was revived in the year 939. In the district of Vicenza, a considerable number not only of the illiterate multitude, but also of the sacerdotal order, fell into that extravagant notion, that the Deity was clothed with a human form, and seated like an earthly monarch upon a throne of gold. This error will appear less astonishing, when we consider, that the illiterate multitude had constantly before their eyes in all the churches, the Supreme Being and his angels represented in pictures and images with the human figure.

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THE  
ELEVENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The EXTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

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CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the prosperous events, that happened  
to the church during this century.*

I. **I**N the preceding century some faint notions of the Christian religion had been received among the Hungarians, Danes, Poles, and Russians: but the savage spirit of these nations, together with their deplorable ignorance and their violent attachment to the superstitions of their ancestors, rendered their total conversion to Christianity a work of great difficulty. The zeal, however, with which this important work was carried on, did honour to the piety of the princes of these unpolished countries, who united their influence with the labours of the learned men whom they had invited into their dominions. In Tartary, and the adjacent countries, the zeal and diligence of the Nestorians

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gained over daily vast numbers to the profession of Christianity. It appears also, that metropolitan prelates, with a great number of bishops under their jurisdiction, were established at this time in the provinces of Casgar, Nuacheta, Turkestan, Genda, and Tangut; from which we may conclude, that, in this and the following century, there was a prodigious number of Christians in those very countries, which are at present over-run with mahometanism and idolatry.

II. Among the European nations that lay yet groveling in their native darkness, were the Sclavonians, the Obotriti<sup>a</sup>, the Venedi<sup>b</sup>, and the Prussians, whose conversion had been attempted, but with no success, by certain missionaries, from whose piety and zeal better fruits might have been expected. Towards the conclusion of the preceding century, Adalbert, bishop of Prague, had endeavoured to insil into the minds of the fierce and savage Prussians, the salutary doctrines of the gospel; but he perished in the attempt, receiving, in the year 996, from the lance of Siggo, a Pagan priest, the crown of martyrdom. Boleslaus, king of Poland, revenged the death of this apostle by entering into a bloody war with the Prussians, and obtained by the force of a victorious army, what Adalbert could not effect by exhortation and argument. He dragooned this savage people into the Christian church; yet besides this violent

<sup>a</sup> The Obotriti were a great and powerful branch of the Vandals, whose kings resided in the country of Mecklenburgh, and whose dominions extended along the coasts of the Baltic from the river Pene in Pomerania to the duchy of Holstein.

<sup>b</sup> The Venedi dwelt upon the banks of the Weissel, or Vistula, in, what is at present called, the Palatinate of Marienburg.

method; others of a more gentle kind were practised by his attendants, who seconded the military arguments of their prince by admonition and instruction. An ecclesiastic of illustrious birth, whose name was Boniface or Bruno, undertook the conversion of the Prussians; and set out from Germany with eighteen persons who had entered with zeal into the same design. These were, however, all barbarously massacred by the Prussians, and neither the vigorous efforts of Boleslaus, nor of the succeeding kings of Poland, could engage this inflexible nation to abandon the idolatry of their ancestors.

III. Sicily had been groaning under the Saracens since the ninth century, nor had the repeated attempts of the Greeks and Latins to dispossess them, been crowned with success. But in this century the face of affairs changed; for in the year 1059, Robert Guiscard, who had formed a settlement in Italy at the head of a Norman colony, and was afterwards created duke of Apulia, attacked the Saracens in Sicily; nor did he sheath the sword before he had rendered himself master of that island, and cleared it absolutely of its former tyrants. As soon as this work was accomplished, which was not before the year 1090, he not only restored the Christian religion, which had been almost totally extinguished, but also established bishoprics, founded monasteries, erected magnificent churches throughout that province, and bestowed upon the clergy immense revenues and distinguished honours. It is in the privileges conferred upon this valiant chief, that we find the origin of that supreme authority in matters of religion, which is still vested in the kings of Sicily, within the limits of their own territories, and which is

known by the name of the *Sicilian monarchy*; for the Roman pontiff Urban II. granted, A. D. 1097, by a special diploma, to Robert and his successors, the title, authority, and prerogatives of hereditary legates of the apostolic see. His successors governed that island, under the title of dukes, until the twelfth century, when it was erected into a kingdom.

IV. The Roman pontiffs, from the time of Sylvester II. had been forming plans for extending the limits of the church in Asia, and especially for driving the Mahometans out of Palestine; but the troubles, in Europe, prevented the execution of these designs. Gregory VII. the most enterprising pontiff that ever sat in the chair, inflamed by the repeated complaints which the Asiatic Christians made of the cruelty of the Saracens, resolved to undertake the deliverance of the church, and upwards of fifty thousand men were mustered to follow him. But many unforeseen occurrences obliged him to lay aside his invasion of the holy land. The project, however, was renewed, towards the conclusion of this century, by the enthusiastic zeal of an inhabitant of Amiens, who was known by the name of Peter the Hermit, and who suggested to Urban II. the means of accomplishing what had been suspended. This hermit, in a voyage, which he had made through Palestine A. D. 1093, had observed the vexations and persecutions which the Christians, who visited the holy places, suffered from the Saracens. Inflamed therefore with a furious zeal, which he looked upon as the effects of a divine impulse, he implored the succours of Symeon, patriarch of Constantinople, and Urban II. but without effect. Far from being discouraged, he renewed his



his efforts with the utmost vigour, went through all the countries of Europe sounding the alarm of a *holy war* against the infidel nations, and exhorting all Christian princes to draw the sword against the tyrants of Palestine; nor did he stop here; but with a view to engage the multitude in his cause, he carried about with him a letter, which he said was written in heaven, and addressed from thence to all true Christians to animate their zeal for the deliverance of their brethren.

V. When Urban II. saw the way prepared by the exhortations of the hermit, he assembled a numerous council at Placentia, A. D. 1095, and recommended warmly the sacred expedition against the infidel Saracens. This council was the most numerous of any that had been hitherto assembled, and was, on that account, held in the open fields. There were present at it two hundred bishops, four thousand ecclesiastics, and three hundred thousand laymen. But this enterprise was far from being approved of by the greatest part of this assembly, notwithstanding the presence of the emperor's legates, who represented most pathetically how necessary it was to limit the power of the victorious Turks. The pontiff's proposal was, however, renewed some time after this, in the council of Clermont, where Urban was present. The pathetic speech, which he delivered upon this occasion, made a deep impression upon the minds of the French, whose natural character renders them much superior to the Italians in attempting the execution of the most perilous designs. So that an innumerable multitude, composed of all ranks in the nation, offered themselves as volunteers in this sacred expedition. This numerous host

was looked upon as equal to the most glorious enterprizes, while, in reality, it was no more than an unwieldy body without life or vigour; being a motley assemblage of monks, prostitutes, artists, labourers, lazy tradesmen, merchants, boys, girls, slaves, malefactors, and profligate debauchees, and principally composed of the lowest dregs of the multitude, who were animated solely by the prospect of plunder, and hoped to make their fortunes by this holy campaign. Every one will perceive how little either discipline, counsel, or fortitude were to be expected from such a miserable rabble. This expedition was distinguished, in the French language, by the name of a *croisade*, and all who embarked in it were called *croises*, or cross-bearers, on account of the consecrated cross of various colours, which every soldier wore upon his right shoulder.

VI. In consequence of these grand preparations, eight hundred thousand men, in separate bodies, and under different commanders, set out for Constantinople in the year 1096; that having received assistance and direction from Alexis Comnenius the Grecian emperor, they might pursue their march into Asia. One of the principal divisions of this enormous body was led on by Peter the Hermit, who was girded with a rope, and continued to appear with all the marks of an austere solitary. This first division, in their march through Hungary and Thrace, committed the most flagitious crimes, which so incensed the inhabitants of those countries, that they rose up in arms and massacred the greatest part of them. A like fate attended several other divisions of the same army, who, under the conduct of weak and unskilful chiefs, wandered

wandered about like an undisciplined band of robbers, plundering the cities that lay in their way, and spreading misery and desolation wherever they came. The armies, that were headed by illustrious commanders, arrived more happily at the capital of the Grecian empire. That which was commanded by Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorrain, who deserves a place among the greatest heroes, and by his brother Baldwin, was composed of eighty thousand well chosen troops, horse and foot, and directed its march through Germany and Hungary. Another, which was headed by Raimond, earl of Toulouse, passed through the Sclavonian territories. Robert, earl of Flanders, Robert, duke of Normandy, eldest son of William the Conqueror, and Hugo, brother to Philip I. king of France, embarked their respective forces in a fleet which was assembled at Brundisi and Tarento, from whence they were transported to Durazzo, or Dyrrachium, as it was anciently called. These armies were followed by Boemond, duke of Apulia and Calabria, at the head of a chosen and numerous body of valiant Normans.

VII. This army was the greatest, and, in outward appearance, the most formidable, that had been known in the memory of man; and, though before its arrival at Constantinople, it was diminished considerably; yet such as it was, it made the Grecian emperor tremble, and filled his mind with terrible apprehensions of some secret design against his dominions. His fears, however, were dispelled, when he saw these legions pass the streights of Gallipolis, and direct their march towards Bithynia.

Before the arrival of Godfrey in Asia, the army, or rather rabble, commanded by Peter the  
Hermit



Hermit in such a ridiculous manner as might be expected from a wrongheaded monk, was defeated and cut to pieces by Soliman the younger.

The first successful enterprize that was formed against the Infidels, was the siege of Nice, the capital of Bithynia, which was taken in the year 1097; from thence the victorious army proceeded into Syria, and in the following year subdued Antioch, which, with its fertile territory, was granted, by the assembled chiefs, to Boemond, duke of Apulia. Edessa fell next into the hands of the victors, and became the property of Baldwin, brother to Godfrey of Bouillon. The conquest of Jerusalem, which, after a siege of five weeks, submitted to their arms in the year 1099, seemed to crown their expedition with the desired success. In this city were laid the foundations of a new kingdom, at the head of which was placed the famous Godfrey, whom the army saluted king of Jerusalem with an unanimous voice. But this illustrious hero, whose other eminent qualities were adorned with the greatest modesty, refused that high title, saying, *he could not bear the thoughts of wearing a crown of gold in that city, where the King of kings had been crowned with thorns.* Yet he governed Jerusalem with that valour, equity, and prudence, that have rendered his name immortal. Having chosen a small army to support him in his new dignity, he permitted the rest of the troops to return into Europe. He did not, however, enjoy his victory long, but died about a year after the conquest of Jerusalem, leaving his dominions to his brother Baldwin, prince of Edessa, who assumed the title of king without the least hesitation.

VIII. If we examine the motives that engaged the Roman pontiffs to kindle this war, which in its progress and issue was so detrimental to almost all the countries of Europe, we shall see its origin is to be derived from the corrupt notions of religion, which prevailed in these barbarous times. It was thought inconsistent with the character of Christians, to suffer that land, that was blessed with the ministry, and consecrated by the blood of the Saviour of men, to remain under the dominion of his most inveterate enemies. It was also looked upon as a branch of true piety to visit the holy places of Palestine; which pilgrimages, however, were extremely dangerous, while the Saracens were in possession of that country.

There are, it must be confessed, several learned men who have accounted otherwise for this fanatical expedition. They imagine that the Roman pontiffs recommended it with a view to augment their own authority, and to weaken the power of the Latin emperors and princes; and that these princes encouraged it in hopes of getting rid of their more powerful vassals, and of becoming masters of their lands and possessions. The truth of the matter seems to be this; the pontiffs and the princes were engaged at first in these *crusades* by a principle of superstition only; but when, in process of time, they learned by experience, that these holy wars contributed much to increase their opulence and to extend their authority, then new motives were presented, and ambition and avarice seconded the dictates of fanaticism and superstition.

IX. Without determining concerning the justice of these wars, we may boldly affirm, that they were highly prejudicial both to the cause  
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of religion, and to the civil interests of mankind, and that, in Europe, more especially, they were fruitful of innumerable evils, whose effects are yet perceivable in our times. The European nations were deprived of the greatest part of their inhabitants by these ill-judged expeditions; immense sums of money were exported into Asia; and numbers of the most powerful and opulent families became either extinct, or were involved in the deepest poverty and want. It could not well be otherwise; since the heads of the most illustrious houses either mortgaged or sold their lands in order to pay the expences of their voyage; while others imposed such intolerable burthens upon their vassals, as obliged them to abandon their houses, and to enlist themselves, rather through despair than religious zeal, under the sacred banner. Hence the face of Europe was totally changed, and all things thrown into the utmost confusion. We pass in silence the various enormities that were occasioned by these crusades, the murders, rapes, and robberies of the most infernal nature, that were every where committed with impunity by these soldiers of God and of Christ, as they were called; and the new privileges and rights, to which these wars gave rise, and which were often attended with the greatest inconveniencies.

These wars were not less prejudicial to the cause of religion, and the true interests of the Christian church. One of their first and most pernicious effects was the enormous augmentation of the authority of the Roman pontiffs: they also contributed, in various ways, to enrich the churches and monasteries, and to open new sources of opulence to all the sacerdotal orders. For they, who assumed the cross, disposed of their



their possessions as if they were at the point of death. They, for the most part, made their wills before their departure, and left a considerable part of their possessions to the priests and monks, in order to obtain by these *pious* legacies, the protection of the Deity. Many examples of these donations are to be found in ancient records. Such of the *holy* soldiers, as had been engaged in suits of law with the priests or monks, renounced their pretensions, and submissively gave up whatever it was that had been the subject of debate. And others, who had seized upon any of the possessions of the churches or convents, or had heard of any injury that had been committed against the clergy, by the remotest of their ancestors, made the most liberal restitution, both for their own usurpations and those of their forefathers, and made ample satisfaction for the real or pretended injuries they had committed against the church by rich and costly donations.

Nor were these the only unhappy effects of these holy expeditions, considered with respect to their influence upon religion. For while whole legions of bishops and abbots girded the sword to their thigh, and went as generals, volunteers, or chaplains into Palestine, the priests and monks, who had lived under their jurisdiction, and were more or less awed by their authority, threw off all restraint, lived the most profligate lives, and abandoned themselves to all sorts of licentiousness. The monster Superstition, which was already grown to an enormous size, received new strength and influence by this holy war, and exercised with more vehemence than ever its despotic dominion over the minds of the Latins. For the crowd of  
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saints, and patrons, whose number was prodigious before this period, was now augmented by fictitious saints of Greek and Syrian origin, which had hitherto been unknown in Europe; and an incredible quantity of relics, the greatest part of which were ridiculous in the highest degree, were imported into the European churches. The armies, that returned from Asia after the taking of Jerusalem, brought with them a vast number of these faintly relics, which they bought at a high price from the cunning Greeks and Syrians, and which they considered as the noblest spoils that could crown their return from the holy land. These they committed to the custody of the clergy in the churches and monasteries, or ordered them to be carefully preserved in their families from generation to generation.

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## C H A P. II.

*Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.*

THE greatest opposition the Christians met with, in this century, was from the Saracens and Turks. To the latter the Christians and Saracens were equally odious, and felt equally the fatal consequences of their increasing dominion. The Saracens, notwithstanding their bloody contests with the Turks, which gave them constant occupation, and the vigorous, though ineffectual, efforts they were making to set limits to the power of that fierce nation, which was daily extending its empire, persisted in their cruelty towards their Christian subjects, whom

whom they robbed, plundered, maimed, or murdered in a most barbarous manner. The Turks, on the other hand, not only reduced the Saracen dominion to very narrow bounds, but also seized upon the richest provinces of the Grecian empire, and subjected them to their yoke, while they impoverished the rest by perpetual incursions, and by the most unmerciful exactions. The Greeks were not able to oppose this impetuous torrent. Their force was weakened by intestine discords, and their treasures were exhausted to such a degree as rendered them incapable of raising new troops, or of paying the armies they had already in their service.

II. The Saracens in Spain opposed the progress of the gospel in a different, yet still more pernicious way. They used all sorts of methods to allure the Christians into the profession of mahometanism; alliances of marriage, advantageous contracts, flattering rewards, were employed to seduce them with too much success; for great numbers fell into these fatal snares, and apostatized from the truth. And these allurements would have, undoubtedly, still continued to seduce multitudes of Christians from the church, had not the face of affairs been changed in Spain by the victorious arms of the kings of Arragon and Castile; for these princes defeated the Saracens in several battles, and deprived them of a great part of their territories.

The number of those among the Danes, Hungarians, and other European nations, who retained their prejudices in favour of the religion of their ancestors, was as yet very considerable; and they persecuted, with the utmost cruelty, the neighbouring nations, and also such of their fellow-citizens as had embraced the



gospel. To put a stop to this persecution, Christian princes exerted their zeal in a terrible manner, proclaiming capital punishment against all who persisted in the worship of the Pagan deities. This dreadful severity contributed much more towards the extirpation of paganism, than the exhortations and instructions of ignorant missionaries, who were unacquainted with the true nature of the gospel, and dishonoured its pure and holy doctrines by their licentious lives and superstitious practices.

The Prussians, Lithuanians, Sclavonians, and several other nations, who dwelt in the lower parts of Germany, and lay still groveling in the darkness of paganism, continued to vex the Christians, who lived in their neighbourhood, by perpetual acts of hostility, by frequent incursions into their territories, and by putting numbers of them to death in the most inhuman manner.

## PART II.

## The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH:

## CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.*

I. **T**HE declining condition of the Grecian empire was fatal to the progress of letters. Its power diminished from day to day under the usurpations of the Turks and Saracens; and while the empire suffered by these attacks from without, it was consumed gradually by civil discord, by frequent seditions and conspiracies, and by those violent revolutions which shook from time to time the imperial throne. So many foreign invasions, so many internal troubles, so many emperors dethroned, deprived the political body of its strength, broke in upon the public order, rendered all things precarious, and, dejecting the spirits of the nation, damped the fire of genius. There were, however, some emperors, such as Alexius Comnenus, who encouraged the drooping sciences, and whose zeal was seconded by several prelates willing to lend a supporting hand to the cause of letters.

II. We pass in silence the poets, rhetoricians, and philologists of this century, who were neither highly eminent, nor absolutely contemptible. Among the writers of history, Leo the grammarian,

rian, John Scylizes, Cedrenus, and a few others deserve to be mentioned with a certain degree of approbation; notwithstanding the partiality with which they are chargeable, and the zeal they discover for many of the fabulous records of their nation. But the greatest ornament of the republic of letters at this time, was Michael Psellus, a man illustrious in every respect, and deeply versed in all the kinds of erudition that were known in this age. This great man recommended warmly the study of philosophy, and particularly the system of Aristotle, which he illustrated in several learned and ingenious productions. And the Arabians still retained a zeal for the culture of the sciences; as appears evidently from the number of physicians, mathematicians, and astronomers, who flourished among them in this century.

III. The arts and sciences seemed, in some measure, to revive in the west, among the clergy, at least, and the monastic orders; they were not indeed cultivated by any other men, and the nobility treated all sorts of learning with contempt. The schools of learning flourished in several parts of Italy about the year 1050; and of the Italian doctors, who acquired a name by their writings, several removed into France, particularly into Normandy, where they instructed the youth, who had consecrated themselves to the service of the church. The French also, though they acknowledge their obligations to the learned Italians who settled in their provinces, yet give us, at the same time, a considerable list of their own countrymen, who cultivated the sciences, and contributed not a little to the advancement of letters in this century; they mention also several schools erected in different



different parts of that kingdom, which were in the highest reputation, both on the account of the fame of their masters, and the multitude of disciples that resorted to them. And it is certain, France abounded with learned men, while the greatest part of Italy lay as yet covered with ignorance and darkness. For Robert, king of France, son and successor of Hugh Capet, disciple of the famous Gerbert, afterwards Sylvester II. and the great protector of the sciences, reigned so early as the year 1031, and exerted the most ardent zeal for the restoration of letters; nor were his efforts without success. The provinces of Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, and other southern parts of Italy, were indebted, for the introduction of the sciences among them, to the Normans, who became their masters, and who brought with them from France the knowledge of letters to a people that sat in the darkest ignorance. To the Normans also was due the restoration of letters in England. William the Conqueror, a prince of uncommon sagacity, and the great Mæcenas of his time, upon his accession to the throne of England in the year 1066, engaged a considerable number of learned men from Normandy, and other countries, to settle in his new dominions, and exerted his most zealous endeavours to dispel that savage ignorance, that is always a source of innumerable evils. The reception of Christianity had polished and civilized the rugged minds of the valiant Normans; for those fierce warriors, who, under the darkness of paganism, had manifested the utmost aversion to all branches of knowledge, distinguished themselves, after their conversion, by their ardent application to the study of religion and the pursuit of learning.

IV. This desire of knowledge, that increased from day to day, and became, at length, the predominant passion of the politest European nations, produced many happy effects. To it, more particularly, we must attribute the number of public schools that were opened in various places, and the choice of more able masters, than those who had formerly presided in the seminaries of learning. Towards the conclusion of the preceding age, there were no schools in Europe, but those which belonged to monasteries, or episcopal residences, nor were there any masters, except the Benedictine monks. But, not long after the commencement of this century, the face of things was totally changed. In many cities of France and Italy, learned men, both among the clergy and laity, undertook the charge of instructing the youth, and succeeded much better in this undertaking than the monks had done, not only by comprehending in their course of instruction more branches of knowledge, but also by teaching in a better method many of the same branches of science, which the others had taught before. The most eminent of these new masters were such as had either travelled into Spain with a view to study in the schools of the Saracens (which was customary among those that were ambitious of a distinguished reputation for wisdom and knowledge) or had improved their stock of erudition by a diligent perusal of the writings of the Arabians, of which a great number were translated into Latin. For with these foreign succours, they were enabled to teach philosophy, mathematics, physick, astronomy, and the other sciences that are connected with them, in a much more solid manner, than the monks,

or such as had received their education from them alone. The school of Salerno, in the kingdom of Naples, was renowned above all others for the study of physic in this century, and vast numbers crowded thither from all the provinces of Europe to receive instruction in the art of healing: but the medical precepts, which rendered the doctors of Salerno so famous, were all derived from the writings of the Arabians, or from the schools of the Saracens in Spain and Africa.

V. The *seven liberal arts*, as they were now styled, were taught in the greatest part of the schools. The first stage of these sciences was grammar, which was followed by rhetoric and logic. When the disciple, having learned these three branches, which were generally known by the name of *trivium*, extended his ambition farther, he was conducted slowly through the *quadrivium* to the very summit of literary fame. But this method of teaching, which had been received in all the western schools, was considerably changed towards the latter end of this century. For as the science of *logic*, under which *metaphysics* were in part comprehended, received new degrees of perfection, and was taught with more subtilty than in former times, the greatest part of the studious youth became so enamoured of this branch of philosophy, as to abandon Grammar, rhetoric, and all the other liberal arts, that they might consecrate their whole time to the discussion of logical questions and metaphysical speculations. Hence that contempt of languages and eloquence, of the more elegant sciences, and the finer arts, which spread its baneful influence through the Latin provinces; and hence that barbarism and  
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pedantic sophistry that dishonoured, in succeeding ages, the republic of letters, and corrupted the noble simplicity of true theology and philosophy.

VI. About the year 1050, the face of philosophy began to change, and the science of logic assumed a new aspect. This revolution began in France, where several of the books of Aristotle had been brought from the schools of the Saracens in Spain, and it was effected by a set of men highly renowned for their abilities and genius, such as Berenger, Roscellinus, Hildebert, and after them by Gilbert de la Porre, the famous Abelard, and others. These eminent logicians, though they followed the Stagirite as their guide, took nevertheless the liberty to illustrate and model anew his philosophy, and to extend it far beyond its ancient limits.

VII. The philosophers of this age, who were most famous for their zealous endeavours to improve the science of logic, were Lanfranc, an Italian by birth, who was abbot of St. Stephens, at Caen in Normandy, and was called from thence, by William the Conqueror, to the see of Canterbury, Anselm his successor, and Odo, whose last promotion was the bishopric of Cambrai. Lanfranc was deeply versed in this science, and he employed with great dexterity the subtilties of logic in the controversy which was carried on between him and the learned Berenger, against whom he maintained the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the holy sacrament. Anselm throws much light upon the darkness and perplexity in which the science of logic had lain so long involved. This great prelate, who shone with a distinguished lustre in several branches of literature both sacred and profane, was the first of the Latin doctors who dispelled

dispelled the clouds that hung over the important sciences of *metaphysic* and *natural theology*, as appears from two books of his composition, wherein the truths concerning the Deity, which are deducible from the light of nature, are enumerated and explained with a degree of sagacity which could not well be expected from a writer of this century.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government, during this century.*

I. **A**LL the records of this century complain of the vices that reigned among the rulers of the church, and, in general, among all the sacerdotal orders; they also deplore that universal decay of piety and discipline, that was the consequence of this corruption. The western bishops were no sooner elevated to the rank of dukes, counts, and nobles, and enriched with ample territories, than they gave themselves up to pleasure and ambition. And of the inferior orders of the clergy few preserved any remains of piety, we might add, of decency and discretion. While their rulers were wallowing in luxury, and in worldly pomp and splendor, they were indulging themselves, without the least sense of shame, in the commission of the most flagitious crimes. The Grecian clergy were somewhat less chargeable with these, as the calamities under which their country groaned, gave a check to their licentiousness. Yet, notwithstanding these restraints, there were few examples

examples of piety or virtue to be found among them.

II. The power and dominion of the Roman pontiffs arose in this century to their highest period, though they arose by degrees, and had much opposition and many difficulties to conquer. In the preceding age the pontiffs had acquired a great authority in every thing that related to the government of the church; and their influence increased prodigiously towards the commencement of this century. For then they received the pompous titles of *masters of the world*, and *popes*, i. e. *universal fathers*; they presided also every where in the councils by their legates; assumed the authority of supreme arbiters in all controversies concerning religion or church discipline; and maintained the pretended rights of the church against even kings and princes. Their authority, however, was, on the one hand, restrained by sovereign princes; and, on the other, was opposed by the bishops themselves, that it might not utterly destroy the privileges of synods and councils. From the time of Leo IX, the popes employed every method, which the most artful ambition could suggest, to remove these limits, and to render their dominion both despotic and universal. They not only aspired to the character of supreme legislators in the church, to an unlimited jurisdiction over all synods and councils whether general or provincial, to the sole distribution of all ecclesiastical honours and benefices as divinely authorised, but they carried their pretensions so far as to give themselves out for lords of the universe, arbiters of the fate of kingdoms, and supreme rulers over the kings and princes of the earth. Before Leo IX. no  

pope



pope was so enormously impudent as to claim this unbounded authority, or to assume the power of transferring territories from their lawful possessors to new masters. This pontiff gave the example to his *holy* successors, by granting to the Normans, who had settled in Italy, the territories which they had already usurped, or were forcing out of the hands of the Greeks and Saracens. But the ambition of the aspiring popes was opposed by the emperors, the kings of France, by William the Conqueror, (who was the boldest assertor of the rights and privileges of royalty against the claims of the apostolic see) and also by several other princes. Nor did the bishops, particularly those of France and Germany, sit tamely silent under the papal yoke; many of them endeavoured to maintain the rights and privileges of the church; but as many, seduced by interest or superstition, sacrificed their liberties, and yielded to the pontiffs. Hence it happened, that these lords of the church, though they did not entirely gain their point, or satisfy to the full their raging ambition, yet obtained vast augmentations of power, and extended their authority from day to day.

III. After the death of Clement II. which happened in the year 1047, Benedict IX. though twice degraded, aimed anew at the papal dignity, and forced himself into St. Peter's chair for the third time. But the year following he was obliged to surrender the pontificate to Poppe, bishop of Brixen, known by the name of Damasus II. whom Henry II. elected pope in Germany, and sent from thence into Italy to take possession of that dignity. Upon the death of Damasus, who ruled the see of Rome but three

three and twenty days, the same emperor, in the diet held at Worms, A. D. 1048, appointed Bruno, bishop of Toul, to succeed him. This prelate is known by the name of Leo IX; and his private virtues, as well as his public acts in the government of the church, were deemed meritorious enough to entitle him to a place among the saintly order. But if we deduct from these pretended virtues his vehement zeal for augmenting the opulence and authority of the church of Rome; there will remain little in the life of this pontiff, that could give him any pretension to such a distinction. It is certain, many, who industriously conceal or excuse the numerous infirmities of the pontiffs, censure, with the utmost freedom, the temerity and injustice of the measures he took towards the conclusion of his days. Such, among others, was the war which he entered into, in the year 1053, with the Normans, whose neighbourhood he did not like, and whom he was grieved to see in the possession of Apulia. His temerity, indeed, was severely punished by the issue of this war, for he was taken prisoner by the enemy, and led captive to Benevento. Here, reflections upon his unhappy fate preyed upon his spirits, and threw him into a dangerous fit of sickness; so that after a year's imprisonment he was sent to Rome, where he concluded his days on the 19th of April, A. D. 1054.

IV. After the death of Leo, the papal chair was filled, in the year 1055, by Gebhard, who assumed the name of Victor II. and after governing the church about three years, was succeeded by Stephen IX. brother to Godfrey, duke of Lorrain, who died a few months after his election. Nothing memorable happened under

under the administration of these two pontiffs. Gerrard bishop of Florence, who obtained the papacy A. D. 1058, and took the name of Nicolas II. makes a greater figure than several of his predecessors. We pass in silence John bishop of Veletri, who usurped the pontificate, as also the title of Benedict X. after the death of Stephen, and who was deposed with ignominy, after having possessed the dignity about nine months. Nicolas, upon the removal of this usurper, assembled a council at Rome, A. D. 1059, in which, among many salutary laws, designed to heal the inveterate disorders that afflicted the church, one remarkable decree was passed for changing the ancient form of electing the Roman pontiff; designed to prevent the commotions which arose in Rome, and the factions which divided Italy, when a new pope was to be elected. The same pontiff received the homage of the Normans, and solemnly created Robert Guiscard duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, on condition that he should observe, as a faithful vassal, an inviolable allegiance to the Roman church, and pay an annual tribute in acknowledgement of his subjection to the apostolic see. By what authority Nicolas confirmed the Norman prince in the possession of these provinces, is more than we know; certain it is, that he had no sort of property in the lands which he granted so liberally to the Normans, who held them already by the odious right of conquest. Perhaps the pontiff founded this right of cession, upon the fictitious donation of Constantine, which has been already taken notice of; or seduced by the suggestions of Hilderband, afterwards Gregory VII. he imagined that, as Christ's vicegerent, the Roman

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pontiff had the whole universe for his domain. Be that as it may, it was the grant made to Guiscard by this pope, that laid the foundation of the kingdom of Naples, or of the two Sicilies, and of the sovereignty over that kingdom which the Roman pontiffs constantly claim, and which the Sicilian monarchs annually acknowledge.

V. Before the pontificate of Nicolas II. the popes were chosen not only by the suffrages of the *cardinals*, but also by those of the whole Roman clergy, the nobility, the burgeses, and the assembly of the people. An election, in which such a multitude was concerned, could not but produce continual animosities and tumults. To prevent these, as far as was possible, this provident pontiff had a law passed by which the *cardinals*, as well presbyters as bishops, were empowered, upon a vacancy in the see of Rome, to elect a new pope, without any prejudice to the ancient privileges of the Roman emperors. Nor were the rest of the clergy, with the burgeses and people, excluded from all part in this election, since their consent was solemnly demanded. In consequence, however, of this new regulation, the *cardinals* acted the principal part in the creation of the new pontiff; though they suffered for a long time much opposition both from the sacerdotal orders and the Roman citizens, who were constantly either reclaiming their ancient rights, or abusing the privilege they yet retained of confirming the election. In the following century there was an end put to all these disputes by Alexander III. who transferred and confined to the college of *cardinals* the right of electing to the apostolic see, excluding the nobility, the people, and the

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rest of the clergy, from all concern in this important matter.

It may not be improper here to give some account of the origin of the *cardinals*, and the nature of their privileges and functions. When we enquire into the origin of the college of *cardinals* at Rome, the question is not, who they were, that in the remoter periods of the church were distinguished, among the Latins in general, or at Rome in particular, from the rest of the clergy, by the name of *cardinals*; nor do we enquire into the proper signification of that term, or into the various senses in which it was formerly employed; the true state of the question is this: Who the persons were that Nicolas II. comprehended under the denomination of *cardinals*, when he vested in the Roman *cardinals* alone the right of electing the new pontiff, and excluded from that important privilege the rest of the clergy, the nobility, the burgesses, and the people? When this is known, then we shall have a just notion of the *college of cardinals* in its first rise, and shall also perceive the difference there is between the first *cardinals*, and those of our times. Now this may easily be learned from the edict of Nicolas II. which sets the matter in the clearest light. *We have thought proper to enact*, says the pontiff, *that, upon the decease of the bishop of the Roman catholic or universal church, the affair of the election be treated principally and previously to all other deliberations, among the cardinal bishops alone, who shall afterwards call in to their council the cardinal clerks, and require finally the consent of the rest of the clergy and the people to their election.* Here we see, that the pontiff divides into two classes the *cardinals* who were to have the

right of suffrage in the election of his successors, one of which he calls *cardinal bishops*, and the other *cardinal clerks*. By the former we are to understand the seven bishops, who belonged to the city and territory of Rome, whom Nicolas calls, in the same edict, *comprovinciales episcopi* (an epithet which had been used before by Leo I.) and who had been distinguished by the title of *cardinal bishops* long before the present century. The words of Nicolas confirm this account, and place it beyond all contradiction; for he declares, that by *cardinal bishops* he understands those to whom it belonged to consecrate the pontiff elect; *since the apostolic see, observes the papal legislator, cannot be under the jurisdiction of any superior or metropolitan, the cardinal bishops must necessarily supply the place of a metropolitan, and fix the elected pontiff on the summit of apostolic exaltation and empire.* Now it is well known, the seven bishops of Rome, abovementioned, had the privilege of consecrating the Roman pontiff.

These things being considered, we shall immediately perceive the true meaning of the famous edict, according to which it is manifest, that, upon the death of a pontiff, the *cardinal bishops* were first to deliberate alone concerning a proper successor, and to examine the respective merit of the candidates that might pretend to this high dignity, and afterwards to call in the *cardinal clerks*, not only to demand their counsel, but also to join with them in the election. The word *clerk* here bears the same sense with that of *presbyter*, and it is undeniably certain, that the name of *cardinal presbyters* was given to the ministers of the eight and twenty Roman *parishes*, or principal churches. All the rest of  
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the clergy, of whatever rank they might be, were, together with the people, expressly excluded from the right of voting in the election of the pontiff, though they were allowed what is called a *negative suffrage*, and their consent was required to what the others had done. From all which it appears, that the college of electors, who chose the Roman pontiff, and who after this period were called *cardinals* in a new and unusual acceptation of that term, consisted, according to their original establishment by Nicolas II. of only two orders, namely, *cardinal bishops* and *cardinal clerks*, or presbyters.

It is necessary to observe, before we finish this digression, that the decree of Nicolas could not obtain the force of a law. "It is evident, says Anselm, bishop of Lucca, that the edict of Nicolas is, and always has been, without the smallest degree of weight or authority. But in affirming this, I have not the least design to cast any reflexion upon the blessed memory of that pontiff, . . . as a man, however, he was fallible, and, through the weakness that is inseparable from humanity, was liable to be seduced into measures that were inconsistent with equity and justice." It is true, the prelate has here principally in view that part of the edict in which Nicolas acknowledges and confirms the right of the emperors to ratify the election of the Roman pontiff; yet what he says is undoubtedly true of the whole edict in all its parts. For the seven *Palatine judges*, who were excluded by this decree from the important privilege they had formerly enjoyed of voting in the election to the apostolic see, complained loudly of the injury that was done them, and, seconded in their complaints by the various orders of the clergy,

and by the clamours of the army, the citizens, and the multitude, they declared their opposition to the execution of this edict, and gave much trouble to the *cardinals* who had been constituted electors by Nicolas. To appease these tumults, Alexander III. augmented the college of the electing *cardinals*, by conferring that dignity upon the prior, or arch-prefbyter, of St. John Lateran, the arch-prefbyters of St. Peter's and St. Mary Maggiore, the abbots of St. Paul's and St. Laurence *without the wall*, and, lastly, upon the seven *Palatine judges*. By this dexterous stratagem the higher order of the clergy was defeated, and ceased to oppose the measures of the *cardinal* electors; nor, indeed, could their opposition be of any significance, since their chiefs and leaders were become members of the sacred college instituted by Nicolas. The *inferior clergy* continued yet obstinate; but their opposition was vanquished in the same manner, and they were reduced to silence by the promotion of their chiefs, the *cardinal deacons*, to the dignity of electors. Who it was, whether Alexander III. or some other pontiff, that raised the principal Roman deacons to the rank of *cardinals*, is not certain; but nothing is more evident than that the design of this promotion was to put an end to the complaints of the inferior clergy.

When the various orders of the clergy were drawn off from the opposition, it was no difficult matter to silence the people, and to exclude them from all part in the election of the pontiff. And accordingly, when, upon the death of Alexander III. it was proposed to choose Lucius III. as his successor, the consent of the clergy and people, which had hitherto been  
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always esteemed necessary to ratify the election, was not so much as demanded, and the affair was transacted by the college of *cardinals* alone, who have continued to maintain that important privilege even to our times.

VI. From what has been observed we may conclude, that the college of *cardinals*, and the extensive authority they enjoy at this day, derive their origin from the edict published under the pontificate of Nicolas II; that, under the title of *cardinals*, this pontiff comprehended the seven Roman bishops, who were considered as his *suffragans*, and of whom the bishop of Ostia was the chief, as also the eight and twenty ministers, who had inspection over the principal Roman churches; and that to these were added, in process of time, under Alexander III. and other pontiffs, new members, in order to appease the resentment of those who looked upon themselves as injured by the edict of Nicolas, and also to answer other purposes of ecclesiastical policy. We see, also, that though the high order of purpled prelates, commonly called *cardinals*, had its rise in the eleventh century, yet it did not acquire the authority of a legal council before the pontificate of Alexander III.

VII. Though Nicolas II. had expressly acknowledged and confirmed in his edict the right of the emperor to ratify by his consent the election of the pontiff; his eyes were no sooner closed, than the Romans violated this imperial privilege in the most presumptuous manner. For they not only elected Anselm, bishop of Lucca, who assumed the name of Alexander II. but also solemnly installed him in that high office without so much as consulting the emperor Henry IV. Agnes, the mother of the young



young emperor, no sooner received an account of this by the bishops of Lombardy, to whom the election of Anselm was extremely disagreeable, than she assembled a council at Basil, and, in order to maintain the authority of her son, who was yet a minor, caused Cadolaus, bishop of Parna, to be created pontiff, under the title of Honorius II. Hence arose a long and furious contest between the two rival pontiffs, who maintained their respective pretensions by the force of arms, and presented a scene of bloodshed and horror in the church of Christ, which was designed to be the center of charity. In this violent contention Alexander triumphed, though he could never engage his adversary to desist from his pretensions.

VIII. This contest, indeed, was of little consequence in comparison with the dreadful commotions which Hilderband, who succeeded Alexander, and assumed the name of Gregory VII. excited both in church and state. This vehement pontiff, who was born of mean parents, rose, by various steps, from the obscure station of a monk of Clugni, to the rank of arch-deacon in the Roman church, and, from the time of Leo IX. who treated him with peculiar distinction, was accustomed to govern the Roman pontiffs by his counsels, which had acquired the highest influence and authority. In the year 1073, and the same day that Alexander was interred, he was raised to the pontificate by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and people, and, consequently, without any regard paid to the edict of Nicolas II. and his election was confirmed by Henry IV. king of the Romans, to whom ambassadors had been sent for that purpose. This prince, indeed, had

had soon reason to repent of the consent he had given to an election, which became so fatal to the interests and liberties of the church, and so detrimental to the sovereignty and independence of kingdoms and empires. Hilderband was a man of uncommon genius, whose ambition in forming the most arduous projects was equalled by his dexterity in bringing them into execution; sagacious, crafty, and intrepid, nothing could escape his penetration, defeat his stratagems, or daunt his courage; haughty and arrogant beyond all measure; obstinate, impetuous, and intractable; he looked up to the summit of universal empire with a wishful eye, and laboured up the steep ascent with uninterrupted ardour, and invincible perseverance; void of all principle, and destitute of every pious and virtuous feeling, he suffered little restraint in his audacious pursuits, from the dictates of religion or conscience. Such was the character of Hilderband, and his conduct was every way suitable to it; for no sooner did he find himself in the papal chair, than he displayed to the world the most tyrannic ambition. Not contented to enlarge the jurisdiction and opulence of the see of Rome, he laboured indefatigably to render the universal church subject to the arbitrary power of the pontiff alone, to dissolve the jurisdiction which kings and emperors had hitherto exercised over the clergy, and to exclude them from all part in the management or distribution of the revenues of the church. Nay, this outrageous pontiff went still farther, and attempted to submit to his jurisdiction the emperors, kings, and princes of the earth, and to render their dominions tributary to the see of Rome. Such were the *pious* and *apostolic* exploits that employed Gregory

Gregory VII. during his whole life, and which rendered his pontificate a continued scene of tumult and bloodshed.

IX. Under the pontificate of Hilderband, the face of the Latin church was entirely changed, its government subverted, and the most important of those rights and privileges that had been formerly vested in its councils, bishops, and sacred colleges, usurped by the greedy pontiff. It is, however, to be observed, that the weight of this usurpation did not fall equally upon all the European provinces; several of these preserved some remains of their ancient liberty and independence, in the possession of which a variety of circumstances concurred to maintain them.

But, the views of Hilderband were not confined to the erection of an absolute and universal monarchy in the church; they aimed also at the establishment of a civil monarchy equally extensive and despotic; and this aspiring pontiff, after having drawn up a system of ecclesiastical canons for the government of the church, would have introduced also a new code of political laws, had he been permitted to execute the plan he had formed. His purpose was to engage in the bonds of fidelity and allegiance to St. Peter, *i. e.* to the Roman pontiffs, all the kings and princes of the earth, and to establish at Rome an annual assembly of bishops, by whom the contests that might arise between kingdoms or sovereign states were to be decided, the rights and pretensions of princes to be examined, and the fate of nations and empires to be determined. But this project met with the warmest opposition, particularly from the emperors, and from the British and French monarchs.

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His conduct towards the kingdom of France is worthy of particular notice. It is well known, that whatever dominion the popes enjoyed was originally derived from the kingdom of France, or from the princes of that nation; and yet Hilderband, or (as we shall hereafter entitle him) Gregory VII. pretended that the kingdom of France was tributary to the see of Rome, and commanded his legates to demand yearly, the payment of that tribute; their demands, however, were treated with contempt, and the tribute was never acknowledged. Nothing can be more insolent than the language in which Gregory addressed himself to Philip I. king of France, to whom he recommends an humble carriage, from this consideration that both his *kingdom and his soul were under the dominion of St. Peter, (i. e. his vicar the Roman pontiff)* who had *the power to bind and to loose him, both in heaven and upon earth.* Nothing escaped the all-grasping ambition of Gregory; he pretended that Saxony was a feudal tenure held in subjection to the see of Rome, to which it had been formerly yielded by Charlemagne as a pious offering to St. Peter. He extended also his pretensions to the kingdom of Spain, maintaining that it was the property of the apostolic see from the earliest times, yet acknowledging that the transaction by which the successors of St. Peter had acquired this property had been lost among other ancient records. His claims, however, were more respected in Spain than in France; for the king of Arragon, and Bernhard, count of Besalu, gave a favourable answer to the demands of Gregory, and paid him regularly an annual tribute; and their example was followed

lowed by other Spanish princes. The despotic views of this lordly pontiff were attended with less success in England, than in any other country. William the Conqueror was a prince of great spirit and resolution, extremely jealous of his rights, and tenacious of the prerogatives he enjoyed as a sovereign and independent monarch; and accordingly, when Gregory wrote him a letter demanding the arrears of the *Peter-pence*<sup>c</sup>, and at the same time summoning him to do homage for the kingdom of England as a fief of the apostolic see, William granted the former, but refused the latter with a noble obstinacy, declaring that he held his kingdom of God only and his own sword. Obligated to yield to the obstinacy of the English monarch, whose name struck terror into the boldest hearts, the restless pontiff addressed his imperious mandates where he imagined they would be received with more facility. He wrote circular letters to all the most powerful German princes, to Geusa king of Hungary, and Sueno, or Swein, king of Denmark, soliciting them to make a solemn grant of their kingdoms to the prince of the apostles, and to hold them under the jurisdiction

<sup>c</sup> *Peter-pence*: (so called from its being collected on the festival of St. Peter in Vinculis) was an ancient tax of a penny on each house, first granted in the year 725, by Ina, king of the West-Saxons, for the establishment and support of an English college at Rome, and afterwards extended, in the year 794, by Offa, over all Mercia and East-Anglia. In process of time, it became a standing and general tax throughout all England, and, though it was for some time applied to the support of the English college according to its original design, the popes found means to appropriate it to themselves. It was confirmed by the laws of Canute, Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, and was never totally abolished till the reign of Henry VIII.

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of his vicar at Rome, as fiefs of the apostolic see. What success attended his demands, we cannot say; but certain it is, that in several places his efforts were effectual, and his *modest* proposals were received with the utmost docility. The son of Demetrius, king of the Russians, set out for Rome, in consequence of the pontiff's letter, in order to *obtain, as a gift from St. Peter by the hands of Gregory, after professing his subjection and allegiance to the prince of the apostles, the kingdom* which was to devolve to him upon the death of his father; and his *pious request* was readily granted by the pope, who was extremely liberal of what did not belong to him. Demetrius Suinimer, duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, was raised to royalty by the same pontiff in the year 1076, and solemnly proclaimed king by his legate at Salona, upon condition that he should pay an annual tribute of two hundred pieces of gold to St. Peter at every Easter festival. The kingdom of Poland became also the object of Gregory's ambition, and a favourable occasion was offered for the execution of his views; for Basilaus II. having assassinated Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, the pontiff not only excommunicated him with all circumstances of infamy, but also pulled him from his throne, dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken, and, by an express edict, prohibited the nobles and clergy of Poland to elect a new king without the consent of the Roman pontiff. Had the success of that pontiff been equal to his views, all the kingdoms of Europe would have been this day tributary to the Roman see, and its princes the vassals of St. Peter, in the person of his vicar. But though his most important projects were ineffectual,

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yet many of his attempts were crowned with a favourable issue. It was, particularly, under the administration of Gregory, that the emperors were deprived of the privilege of ratifying the election of the Roman pontiff, a privilege of no small importance, and which they have never recovered.

X. The zeal and activity, which Gregory employed in extending the jurisdiction of the Roman see, and enriching the patrimony of St. Peter, met, no where, with such remarkable success as in Italy. His familiarity with Mathilda, the daughter of Boniface duke of Tuscany, the most powerful and opulent prince in that country, contributed much to this success; for he engaged that princess, after the death of her husband Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, and her mother Beatrix, which happened in the years 1076 and 1077, to settle all her possessions in Italy and elsewhere upon the church of Rome. This rich donation was, indeed, invalidated by the second marriage, which Mathilda contracted in the year 1089, with Welf, or Guelph, son of the duke of Bavaria. But she renewed it in a solemn manner in the year 1102, about seven years after her separation from her second husband, by which she became again sole mistress of her vast possessions. Yet, notwithstanding this new act, the Roman pontiffs did not remain in the peaceful possession of this splendid inheritance. It was powerfully disputed, first by the emperor Henry V. and afterwards by several other princes; nor could the pontiffs preserve the whole inheritance, though, after various struggles, they remained in the possession of a considerable part of it.

XI. The plan that Gregory had formed for raising the church above all human authority, to a state of perfect supremacy and independence, had many kinds of opposition to encounter; but none more unsurmountable than that which arose from the two reigning vices of *concubinage* and *simony*, that had infected the whole body of the European clergy. The Roman pontiffs, from the time of Stephen the IX. had combated these monstrous vices, but without success, as they were become too inveterate and too universal to be extirpated without the greatest difficulty. Accordingly Gregory, in the year 1074, which was the second of his pontificate, exerted himself with much more vigour than his predecessors had done. For this purpose he assembled a council at Rome, in which all the laws of the former pontiffs against *simony* were renewed and confirmed, and the buying or selling benefices prohibited in the strictest manner. It was also decreed in the same council, that the sacerdotal orders should abstain from marriage; and that such of them as had already wives, should immediately dismiss them, or quit the priestly office. These decrees were accompanied with circular letters wrote by the pontiff to all the bishops, enjoining obedience to these decisions under the severest penalties.

XII. These decrees were looked upon by the people as highly salutary, since they rendered a free election, and not a mercenary purchase, the way to ecclesiastical promotion; and obliged the priests to abstain from marriage, which was absurdly considered as inconsistent with the sanctity of their office. Yet both these decrees were attended with the most deplorable tumults and dissensions. No sooner was the

law concerning the *Celibacy of the Clergy* published, than the priests, in the several provinces of Europe, who lived with lawful wives, or with hired concubines, complained loudly of the severity of this council, and excited the most dreadful tumults in the greatest part of the European provinces. Many of these ecclesiastics, especially the Milanese priests, chose rather to quit their benefices than their wives. They went still farther: for they separated entirely from the church of Rome, and branded with the name of *Heretics* the pontiff and his adherents, who condemned so unjustly such priests as entered into the bonds of lawful wedlock. The proceedings of Gregory appeared to the wiser part, even of those who approved of the celibacy of the clergy, unjust in two respects: First, in that his severity fell indiscriminately and with equal fury upon the virtuous husband and the licentious rake; that he dissolved, with a merciless hand, the chastest bonds of wedlock, and thus involved husbands and wives, with their tender offspring, in disgrace, perplexity, anguish, and want. The second thing criminal in the measures taken by this pontiff was, that instead of chastising the married priests with wisdom and moderation, and according to the laws of ecclesiastical discipline, whose nature is wholly spiritual, he gave them over to the civil magistrate, to be punished with the loss of their substance, and with the most shocking marks of infamy and disgrace.

XIII. This vehement contest excited great tumults, which, however, were gradually calmed through length of time; nor did any of the European princes concern themselves so much about the marriages of the clergy as to maintain  
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their cause. But the troubles that arose from the law against *simony* were not so easily appeased; the tumults it occasioned grew greater from day to day: and it involved both state and church during several years in the deepest calamities. Henry IV. received indeed graciously the legates of Gregory, and applauded his zeal for the extirpation of *simony*; but neither this prince, nor the German bishops, would permit these legates to assemble a council in Germany, or to proceed judicially against those, who had been chargeable with simoniacal practices. The pontiff, exasperated at this restraint, called another council to meet at Rome in the year 1075, in which he pursued his project with greater impetuosity than ever; for he not only excluded from the communion of the church several German and Italian bishops and certain favourites of Henry, whose counsels that prince was said to make use of, but also pronounced, in a formal edict, *Anathema against whoever received the investiture of a bishopric or abbacy from the hands of a layman, as also against those by whom the investiture should be performed.* This decree surprised the emperors, kings, and princes of Europe, who had the right of conferring the more important ecclesiastical dignities, and the government of monasteries and convents, of which they disposed, in a solemn manner, by the well-known ceremony of the *ring* and the *staff*, or *crozier*, which they presented to the candidate on whom their choice fell. This solemn investiture was the main support of that power of creating bishops and abbots, which the European princes claimed as their undoubted right.

In this method of creating bishops and abbots by presenting to them the *ring* and *crozier*, there were two things that gave particular offence to the Roman pontiff. The first was, that by this the ancient right of election was changed, and the power of chusing the rulers of the church was usurped by the emperors and other sovereign princes, and confined to them alone. This indeed was the most plausible reason of complaint. The other was, to see the *ring* and *crozier*, the venerable badges of spiritual authority, delivered to the bishop elect by the profane hands of unsanctified laymen; for as the *ring* and the *crozier* were generally esteemed the badges of pastoral power, and spiritual authority, so he who conferred these sacred badges was supposed to communicate with them the ghostly authority of which they were the emblems. In the first council which Gregory assembled at Rome, he made no attempt against *investitures*, nor did he aim at any thing farther than the abolition of *simony*, and the restoration of the sacerdotal and monastic orders to their ancient right of selecting their respective bishops and abbots. But when he afterwards came to know that the affair of *investitures* was inseparably connected with the pretensions of the emperors, and indeed supposed them empowered to dispose of the higher ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, he then saw that *simony* could not be extirpated as long as *investitures* were in being; and therefore, to pluck up the evil by the root, he opposed the custom of *investitures* with the utmost vehemence. All this shews the true rise of the war that was carried on between the pontiff and the emperor.

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And to understand still more clearly the merits of this cause, it will be proper to observe, that it was not *investitures*, considered in themselves, that Gregory opposed, but that particular kind of *investitures*, which were in use at this time. He did not hinder the bishops from swearing allegiance to kings and emperors; and so far was he from prohibiting that kind of *investiture* that was performed by a verbal declaration or a written deed, that, on the contrary, he allowed the kings of England and France to *invest* in this manner. But he could not bear the ceremony of *investiture* that was performed with the ensigns of the sacerdotal order; much less could he endure their destroying entirely the free elections of bishops and abbots. It is now time to resume the thread of our history.

XIV. The severe law that had been enacted against *investitures* by Gregory, made little impression upon Henry. He acknowledged, indeed, that in exposing ecclesiastical benefices to sale he had done amiss, and promised amendment; but he would not resign his power of creating bishops and abbots, and the right of *investiture*, which was intimately connected with it. Had this emperor been seconded by the German princes, he might have maintained this refusal with success; but a considerable number of these princes, and among others the states of Saxony, were enemies of Henry; and this furnished Gregory with a favourable opportunity of extending his authority. This opportunity was by no means neglected; he took occasion, from the discords that divided the empire, to depress its chief; he sent an insolent message to the emperor, ordering him to repair immediately



to Rome, and clear himself, before the council that was to be assembled there, of the crimes laid to his charge. The emperor was filled with indignation at the view of that insolent mandate, and assembled without delay a council of the German bishops at Worms, where Gregory was charged with several flagitious practices, deposed from the pontificate, of which he was declared unworthy, and an order issued out for the election of a new pontiff. Gregory no sooner received an account of the sentence that had been pronounced against him, than, in a raging fit of vindictive frenzy, he thundered his anathemas at the head of the emperor, excluded him both from the communion of the church and from the throne of his ancestors, and dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken to him. Thus war was declared on both sides, and the civil and ecclesiastical powers were divided into two great factions, of which one maintained the rights of the emperor, while the other seconded the ambitious views of the pontiff. No terms are sufficient to express the complicated scenes of misery that arose from this deplorable schism.

XV. At the entrance upon this war, the Swabian chiefs, with duke Rodolph at their head, revoked against Henry; and the Saxon princes, whose former quarrels with the emperor had been lately terminated by their defeat and submission, followed their example. These united powers, being solicited by the pope to elect a new emperor, met at Tribur in the year 1076, to take counsel together concerning a matter of such high importance. And they agreed, that the determination of the controversy between the emperor and them should be referred to the Roman pontiff, who was to be invited for that purpose

to a congress at Augsborg the year following, and that, in the mean time, Henry should be suspended from his royal dignity, and live in a private station; to which they added, that he was to forfeit his kingdom, if, within the space of a year, he was not restored to the bosom of the church. When things were come to this desperate extremity, his friends advised him to go into Italy, and implore in person the clemency of the pontiff. The emperor yielded to this ignominious counsel, without obtaining the advantages he expected. He passed the Alps amidst the rigour of a severe winter, and arrived, in the month of February 1077, at the fortress of Canusium, where the pontiff resided at that time with young Mathilda. Here the suppliant prince stood, during three days, in the open air at the entrance of this fortress, with his feet bare, his head uncovered, and with no other raiment but a wretched piece of coarse woollen cloth thrown over his body to cover his nakedness. The fourth day he was admitted to the presence of the pontiff, who, with a good deal of difficulty, granted him absolution; but, as to his restoration to the throne, he refused to determine it before the approaching congress, at which he made Henry promise to appear, forbidding him to assume, during this interval, the title of king, or to exercise the functions of royalty. This opprobrious convention excited the indignation of the princes and bishops of Italy, who threatened Henry with all sorts of evils, on account of his pusillanimous conduct, and would, undoubtedly, have deposed him, had not he diminished their resentment by violating the convention which he had been forced to enter into with the pontiff, and resuming the title and other

other marks of royalty which he had been obliged to lay down. On the other hand, the confederate princes of Swabia and Saxony were no sooner informed of this unexpected change in the conduct of Henry, than they assembled at Forcheim in the month of March, A. D. 1077, and unanimously elected Rodolph, duke of Swabia, emperor in his place.

XVI. This kindled a terrible flame in Germany and Italy, and involved, for a long time, those unhappy lands in war. In Italy the Normans, who were masters of the lower parts of that country, and the armies of the powerful Mathilda, maintained successfully the cause of Gregory against the Lombards, who espoused the interests of Henry; while this unfortunate prince, with all the forces he could assemble, carried on the war in Germany against Rodolph. Gregory was at first afraid to declare for either side, and observed an appearance of neutrality; but, encouraged by the battle of Fladenheim, in which Henry was defeated by the Saxons, A. D. 1080, he excommunicated him anew, and sending a crown to Rodolph, declared him lawful king of the Germans. The emperor did not let this new insult pass unpunished; seconded by the suffrages of several of the Italian and German bishops, he deposed Gregory a second time in a council which met at Mentz; and, in a synod that was soon after assembled at Brixen, in the province of Tirol, he raised to the pontificate Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, who assumed the title of Clement III. when he was consecrated at Rome, A. D. 1084, four years after his election.

XVII. This election was followed by an event which gave an advantageous turn to the affairs of



of Henry; a bloody battle was fought upon the banks of the river Elster, where Rodolph received a mortal wound, of which he died at Merseburgh. The emperor, having got rid of this formidable enemy, marched directly into Italy the following year (1081) with a design to crush Gregory and his adherents. Accordingly he made several campaigns, with various success, against the troops of Mathilda; and, after having raised twice the siege of Rome, he resumed it a third time, and became master of the greatest part of that city in the year 1084. The first step that Henry took after this success was to place Guibert in the papal chair, after which he received the imperial crown from the hands of the new pontiff, was saluted emperor by the Roman people, and laid close siege to the castle of St. Angelo, whither his mortal enemy, Gregory, had fled. He was, however, forced to raise this siege, by the valour of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia and Calabria, who brought Gregory in triumph to Rome; but, not thinking him safe there, conducted him afterwards to Salernum. In this place the pontiff ended his days the year following, A. D. 1085, and left Europe involved in those calamities which were the fatal effects of his boundless ambition. He was certainly a man of extensive abilities, endowed with an invincible firmness of mind; but it must be acknowledged, that he was the most arrogant and audacious pontiff that had hitherto sat in the papal chair.

XVIII. The death of Gregory neither restored peace to the church, nor tranquillity to the state; the tumults and divisions which he had excited, still continued, and they were augmented from day to day by the same passions to which they owed

owed their origin. Clement III. who was the emperor's pontiff, was master of the city of Rome, and was acknowledged as pope by a great part of Italy. Henry carried on the war in Germany against the confederate princes. The faction of Gregory, supported by the Normans, chose for his successor, in the year 1086, Diderick, abbot of mount Cassin, who adopted the title of Victor III. and was consecrated in the church of St. Peter, in the year 1087, when that part of the city was recovered by the Normans from the dominion of Clement. But this new pontiff was of a character quite opposite to that of Gregory; he was modest and timorous, and also of a mild and gentle disposition; and finding the papal chair beset with factions, and the city of Rome under the dominion of his competitor, he retired to his monastery, where soon after he ended his days in peace. But, before his abdication, he held a council at Benevento, where he renewed the laws that Gregory had enacted for the abolition of *investitures*.

XIX. Otho, bishop of Oslia, and monk of Clugni, was, by Victor's recommendation, chosen to succeed him. This new pontiff was elected at Terracina in the year 1088, and assumed the name of Urban II. Inferior to Gregory in resolution, he was his equal in arrogance, and surpassed him greatly in temerity and imprudence. The commencement of his pontificate had a fair aspect; but upon the emperor's return into Italy in the year 1090, the face of affairs was totally changed; victory crowned the arms of that prince, who, by redoubled efforts of valour, defeated, at length, Guelph, duke of Bayaria, and the famous Mæthilda, the formidable

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heads of the papal faction. The abominable treachery of his son Conrad, who revolted against him, and, by the advice and assistance of Urban and Mathilda, usurped the kingdom of Italy, revived the drooping spirits of that faction. But this event was less fatal to Henry than his enemies expected. In the mean time the troubles continued, nor could Urban, with all his efforts, reduce the city of Rome under his yoke. Finding all his measures disconcerted, he assembled a council at Placentia in the year 1095, where he confirmed the laws and the anathemas of Gregory; and afterwards undertook a journey into France, where he held the famous council of Clermont, and had the pleasure of kindling a new war against the infidel possessors of the holy land. In this council, instead of endeavouring to terminate the tumults that the dispute concerning *investitures* had already produced, this unworthy pontiff added fuel to the flame, and so exasperated matters as to render an accommodation between the contending parties more difficult than ever. Gregory, notwithstanding his insolence and ambition, had never carried matters so far as to forbid the bishops and the rest of the clergy to take the oath of allegiance to their respective sovereigns. This prohibition was reserved for the arrogance of Urban, who published it as a law, in the council of Clermont. After this *noble* expedition, the restless pontiff returned into Italy, where he made himself master of the castle of St. Angelo, and soon after ended his days in the year 1099; he was not long survived by his antagonist Clement III. who died the following year, and thus left Raynier, a Benedictine monk, who was chosen successor to Urban, and



assumed the name of Paschal II. sole possessor of the papal chair.

XX. Among the eastern monks, in this century, there happened nothing worthy of being consigned to history, while those of the west were concerned immediately in transactions of great consequence, which deserve the attention of the curious reader. The western monks were remarkable for their attachment to the pontiffs; this connexion had been long formed, and it was originally owing to the avarice and violence of both bishops and princes, who, under various pretexts, were constantly encroaching upon the possession of the monks, and thus obliged them to seek for security in the protection of the popes. This protection was readily granted by the pontiffs, who seized every occasion of enlarging their authority; and the monks, in return, engaged themselves to pay an annual tribute to their ghostly patrons. But in this century things were carried still farther; and the pontiffs, more especially Gregory VII. who was eagerly bent upon humbling the bishops, and transferring their privileges to the Roman see, enlarged their jurisdiction over the monks at the expence of the episcopal order. They advised the monks to withdraw themselves and their possessions from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and to place both under the inspection of St. Peter. Hence it happened that, from the time of Gregory, the number of monasteries that had received *immunities*, both from the temporal authority of the sovereign and the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops, were multiplied beyond measure throughout all Europe, and the rights of princes, together with the privileges of

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the episcopal order, were violated and trampled upon, or rather ingrossed by the all-grasping pontiffs.

XXI. All the writers of this age complain of the ignorance, licentiousness, frauds, debaucheries, dissensions, and enormities that dishonoured the monastic orders. However astonished we may be at such horrid irregularities among a set of men whose destination was so sacred, we shall still be more surprised to learn that this degenerate order, so far from losing aught of their credit on account of their licentiousness, were promoted to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, and beheld their opulence and authority increasing from day to day<sup>d</sup>. Amidst this general depravation, amidst the flagitious crimes that were daily perpetrated, not only by the laity, but by the clergy, both *secular* and *regular*, all such as respected the common rules of decency, or preserved the least appearance of piety, were looked upon as saints of the highest rank. This circumstance was favourable to many of the monks, who were less profligate than the rest, and contributed to support the credit of the whole body.

XXII. The monks of Clugni in France surpassed all the other religious orders in the renown of sanctity. Hence their rules were

<sup>d</sup> The corruption and violence that reigned with impunity in this horrid age, gave occasion to the institutions of chivalry or knighthood, in consequence of which a certain set of equestrian heroes undertook the defence of the poor and feeble, and particularly of the fair sex, against the insults of powerful oppressors and ravishers. This order of knights errant was certainly of great use in these miserable times, when the majesty of laws and government was fallen into contempt, and they who bore the title of sovereigns and magistrates, had neither resolution nor power to maintain their authority, or to perform the duties of their stations.

adopted by the founders of new monasteries, and the reformers of those that were in a state of decline. Towards the conclusion of this century, they were formed into a separate society, which still subsists under the title of the *order*, or *congregation of Clugni*. And no sooner were they thus established than they extended their spiritual dominion on all sides, reducing under their jurisdiction, all the monasteries which they had engaged to adopt their discipline. The famous Hugo, sixth abbot of Clugni, who was in high credit at the court of Rome, and had acquired the peculiar protection and esteem of several princes, laboured, with such success, in extending the power and jurisdiction of his order, that, before the end of this century, he saw himself at the head of five and thirty of the principal monasteries in France, besides a considerable number of smaller convents that acknowledged him as their chief. Many other religious societies, though they refused entering into this new order, and continued to choose their respective governors, yet shewed such respect for the *abbot* of Clugni, or the *arch-abbot*, as he styled himself, that they regarded him as their spiritual chief. This enormous augmentation of opulence and authority was, however, fruitful of many evils: it increased the arrogance of these aspiring monks, and contributed much to the propagation of the several vices that dishonoured the religious societies of this licentious and superstitious age. The monks of Clugni degenerated soon from their primitive sanctity, and, in a short time, were distinguished by nothing but the peculiarities of their discipline from the rest of the monastic orders.



XXIII. The example of these monks excited several pious men to erect particular monastic fraternities, like that of Clugni; the consequence of which was, that the Benedictine order, which had been hitherto one great and universal body, was now divided into separate societies, which, though they were subject to one general rule, yet differed from each other in various circumstances both of their discipline and manner of living, and rendered their division still more conspicuous by reciprocal exertions of animosity and hatred.

XXIV. Towards the conclusion of this century, Robert, abbot of Molême in Burgundy, having employed, in vain, his most zealous efforts to revive the decaying piety and discipline of his convent, retired, with about twenty monks, who had not been infected with the dissolute turn of their brethren, to a place called Citeaux, in the diocese of Chalons. In this retreat, which was at that time a miserable desert, covered on all sides with brambles and thorns, Robert laid the foundations of the famous order, or *congregation of Cisterians*, which, like that of Clugni, made a most rapid progress, propagated through the greatest part of Europe in the following century, and was not only enriched with the most splendid donations, but also acquired the form and privileges of a spiritual republic, and exercised a sort of dominion over all the monastic orders. The fundamental law of this new fraternity was the rule of St. Benedict, which was to be rigorously observed; to this were added several other institutions, which were designed to maintain the authority of this rule, to ensure its observance, and to defend it against the dangerous effects of opulence, and

the restless efforts of human corruption to render the best establishments imperfect. They did not, however, secure the sanctity of this holy congregation; since the seducing charms of opulence, that corrupted the monks of Clugni much sooner than was expected, produced the same effect among the Cistercians, whose zeal, in the observance of their rule, began gradually to diminish, and who, in process of time, grew as negligent and dissolute as the rest of the Benedictines.

XXV. In the year 1084, was instituted the famous order of Carthusians, so called from Chartreux, a dismal and wild spot of ground near Grenoble in Dauphine, surrounded with barren mountains and craggy rocks. The founder of this society, which surpassed all the rest in the austerity of their manners and discipline, was Bruno, a native of Cologn, and canon of the cathedral of Rheims in France. This zealous ecclesiastic, who had neither power to reform, nor patience to bear the dissolute manners of his archbishop Manasse, retired from his church with six of his companions, and, having obtained the permission of Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, fixed his residence in that miserable desert. He adopted at first the rule of St. Benedict, to which he added a considerable number of rigorous precepts; his successors went still farther, and imposed upon the Carthusians new laws, which inculcated the highest degrees of austerity that the most gloomy imagination could invent. And yet no monastic society degenerated so little from the severity of their primitive institution as this of the Carthusians. The progress of their order was indeed less rapid, and their influence less extensive, than the progress and influence

influence of those monastic establishments, whose laws were less rigorous.

The *order of regular canons of St. Augustin* was brought into England by Adelwald, confessor to Henry I. who first erected a priory of his order at Nostel in Yorkshire, and had influence enough to have the church of Carlisle converted into an episcopal see, and given to regular canons invested with the privilege of choosing their bishop. This order was singularly favoured and protected by Henry I. who gave them, in the year 1107, the priory of Dunstable; and by queen Maud, who erected for them, the year following, the priory of the Holy Trinity in London, the prior of which was always one of the twenty-four aldermen. They increased so prodigiously, that, besides the noble priory of Merton, which was founded for them, in the year 1117, by Gilbert, an earl of the Norman blood, they had, under the reign of Edward I. fifty-three priories, as appears by the catalogue presented to that prince, when he obliged all the monasteries to receive his protection and to acknowledge his jurisdiction.

XXVI. The most eminent Greek writers of this century, were,

Michael Psellus, whose vast progress in various kinds of learning procured him a most distinguished reputation;

Michael Cerularius, bishop or patriarch of Constantinople, who imprudently revived the controversy between the Greeks and Latins, which had been for some time happily suspended.

Theophylact, a Bulgarian, whose illustrations of the sacred writings were received with universal approbation.

XXVII. The writers who distinguished themselves most among the Latins, were they that follow:

Petrus



Petrus Damsianus, who, on account of his genius, candor, probity, and various erudition, deserves to be ranked among the most learned writers of this century; though he was not altogether untainted with the reigning prejudices and defects of the times;

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of great genius and subtilty, deeply versed in the logic of this age, and most illustriously distinguished by his profound and extraordinary knowledge in theology.

Lanfranc, also archbishop of Canterbury, who acquired a high degree of reputation by his *Commentary upon the Epistles of St. Paul*, as also by several other productions, which, considering the age in which he lived, discover an uncommon measure of sagacity.

### C H A P. III.

*Concerning the doctrine of the church in this century.*

I. **I**T is not necessary to draw at full length the hideous portrait of the religion of this age. It may easily be imagined, that its features were full of deformity, when we consider that its guardians were equally destitute of knowledge and virtue, and that the heads and rulers of the Christian church, instead of exhibiting models of piety, held forth in their conduct the most flagitious crimes. The people were sunk in the grossest superstition, and employed all their zeal in the worship of images and relics, and in the performance of a trifling round of ceremonies, which were imposed upon them by a despotic priesthood. The more learned retained yet some notions of the truth, which

they obscured and corrupted by a wretched mixture of opinions and precepts, of which some were ludicrous, others pernicious, and the most of them equally destitute of truth and utility. There were a few pious men, who would have willingly lent a supporting hand to the declining cause of true religion; but the violent prejudices of a barbarous age rendered all such attempts even desperate.

II. Notwithstanding all this, we find, from the time of Gregory VII. some who remained uncorrupted; who deplored the miserable state to which Christianity was reduced; who opposed, with vigour, the ambition both of the pontiff and the aspiring bishops; and in some provinces privately, in others openly, attempted the reformation of a corrupt and idolatrous church. It was principally in Italy and France that the marks of this heroic piety were exhibited.

III. Several of both the Greek and Latin writers still employed their labours in the exposition of the holy scriptures. Among the Latins, Bruno wrote a commentary on the *Book of Psalms*, and Lanfranc upon the *Epistles of St. Paul*. But all these expositors, in compliance with the custom of the times, made the most whimsical applications of scripture, both in explaining the doctrines and in inculcating the duties of religion. The most eminent of the Grecian expositors was Theophylact, a native of Bulgaria; though he also is indebted to the ancients, and, in a particular manner, to St. Chrysostom, for the greatest part of his observations.

IV. In this century certain writers, and among others, the famous Berenger, employed the rules of logic and the subtilties of metaphysical discussions,

discussions, both in explaining the doctrines of scripture, and in proving the truth of their opinions. Such were the beginnings of that philosophical theology, which grew afterwards, by degrees, into a cloudy and enormous system, and, from the public schools in which it was cultivated, acquired the name of *scholastic divinity*. But the divines who first set on foot this new species of theology, and maintained the natural connexion of *Faith* with *Reason*, and of *Religion* with *Philosophy*, were much more prudent and moderate than their followers. They kept, for the most part, within bounds; their language was clear; the questions they proposed were instructive; they avoided all discussions that were only proper to satisfy a vain curiosity; and, in their disputes, made a sober use of the rules of logic and philosophy.

V. No sooner was this new method introduced, than the Latin doctors began to reduce all the doctrines of religion into one connected system. They had hitherto confined their theological labours to certain branches of the Christian religion, which they illustrated only on certain occasions. The first production of this kind was that of the celebrated Anselm; this however was surpassed by the complete body of divinity, which was composed, towards the conclusion of this century, by Hildebert, archbishop of Tours, who has been regarded both as the first and the best model in this kind of writing.

VI. Among the controversial writers of this century, we see the effects of the scholastic method that Berenger and Lanfranc had introduced into the study of theology. We see divines entering the lists armed with syllogisms, which they manage awkwardly, and aiming rather to



to confound their adversaries by the subtilties of logic, than to convince them by the power of evidence; while those who were unprovided with this philosophical armour, made a still more wretched and despicable figure.

VII. The famous contest between the Greek and Latin churches, which had been suspended for a considerable time, was imprudently revived, in the year 1053, by Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of a restless spirit, who blew the flame of religious discord, and widened the breach by new invectives. The pretext employed to justify this new rupture was zeal for the truth; but its true causes were the ambition of the Grecian patriarch and the Roman pontiff. The latter was constantly forming stratagems to reduce the former under his yoke; and, for this purpose, left no means unemployed to gain over the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, by withdrawing them from the jurisdiction of the see of Constantinople. The tumultuous state of the Grecian empire was singularly favourable to his views, as the friendship of the Roman pontiff was highly useful to the Greeks in their struggles with the Saracens and the Normans, settled in Italy. On the other hand, the Grecian pontiff was not only determined to refuse the least mark of submission to his rival, but was also laying schemes for reducing all the Oriental patriarchs under his supreme jurisdiction. Thus the contending parties were preparing for the field, when Cerularius began the charge by a warm letter to John, bishop of Trani, in Apulia, in which he publicly accused the Latins of various errors. Leo IX. answered this letter in a most imperious manner; and, not satisfied with shewing his indignation by words, assembled a council

council at Rome, in which the Greek churches were solemnly excommunicated.

VIII. Constantine, surnamed Monomachus, who was now at the head of the Grecian empire, endeavoured to stifle this controversy in its birth, and, for that purpose, desired the Roman pontiff to send legates to Constantinople, to concert measures for restoring the tranquillity of the church. Three legates were accordingly sent, who brought letters from Leo IX. not only to the emperor, but also to the Grecian pontiff. These legates were cardinal Humbert, a man of a high and impetuous spirit, Peter, archbishop of Amalfi, and Frederic, archdeacon and chancellor of the church of Rome. The issue of this congress was unhappy in the highest degree, notwithstanding the propensity which the emperor, for political reasons, discovered to the cause of the bishop of Rome. The arrogance of Leo IX. and his insolent letters, excited the highest indignation in Cerularius, which inflamed, instead of healing, the wounds of the church; while, on the other hand, the Roman legates gave evident proofs, that the design of their embassy was not to restore peace, but to establish among the Greeks the supreme authority of the Roman pontiff. Thus all hopes of a happy conclusion of these miserable divisions entirely vanished; and the Roman legates finding their efforts ineffectual to overcome the resistance of Cerularius, they, with the highest insolence, as well as imprudence, excommunicated publicly in the church of St. Sophia, A. D. 1054, the Grecian patriarch, and all his adherents; and leaving a written act of their anathemas upon the grand altar, they *shook the dust off their feet*, and departed. This violent step rendered the evil incurable.

curable. The Grecian patriarch imitated the vehemence of the Roman legates, excommunicated them with all their adherents, and procured an order of the emperor for burning the act of excommunication, which they had pronounced against the Greeks.

IX. The famous dispute concerning the *presence* of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist was revived about the middle of this century in the Latin church. Hitherto the disputants on both sides had proposed their opinions with the utmost freedom, since no council had given a definitive sentence upon this matter, nor prescribed a rule of faith therein. Hence it was, that, in the beginning of this century, Leutheric, archbishop of Sens, affirmed, that none but real believers received the body of Christ in the holy sacrament. But Robert, king of France, hindered the prelate from disseminating his opinion. It was not so easy to extinguish the zeal of the famous Berenger, principal of the public school at Tours, and afterwards archbishop of Angers, a man highly renowned both on account of his extensive learning, and the exemplary sanctity of his life. This eminent ecclesiastic maintained publicly, in the year 1045, the doctrine of Johannes Scotus, and persevered with a noble obstinacy in teaching that the bread and wine were not changed into the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, but preserved their natural and essential qualities, and were no more than figures and external symbols of the body and blood of the divine Saviour. This doctrine was no sooner published, than it was opposed by Leo IX. who attacked it with peculiar vehemence in the year 1050; and in two councils,



the one assembled at Rome, and the other at Vercelli, had the doctrine of Berenger solemnly condemned, and the book of Scotus, from which it was drawn, committed to the flames. This example was followed by the council of Paris, which was summoned the very same year by Henry I. and in which Berenger, and his numerous adherents, were menaced with all sorts of evils. These threats were executed, in part, against this unhappy prelate, whom Henry deprived of all his revenues; but neither threatenings, nor fines, could shake the firmness of his mind, or engage him to renounce the doctrine he had embraced.

X. Amidst the clamours of his incensed adversaries, Berenger observed a profound silence, and was prudent enough to return no answer to their bitter and repeated invectives. Fatigued with a controversy, in which the first principles of reason were so impudently insulted, and exhausted by an opposition which he was unable to overcome, he abandoned all his worldly concerns, and retired to the isle of St. Cosme, in the neighbourhood of Tours, where he spent the remainder of his days in fasting, prayer, and pious exercises.

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#### C H A P. IV.

*Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.*

I. **T**HE form of public worship, which was established at Rome, had not, as yet, been universally received in the western provinces. This was looked upon by the pontiffs as an insult upon their authority, and therefore they used their utmost efforts to introduce the Roman

Roman ceremonies every where, and to promote a perfect uniformity of worship. Gregory VII. employed all his diligence in this enterprise, and he alone was equal to the execution of it. The Spaniards had long distinguished themselves above all other nations by the resolute resistance they made to the attempts of the popes upon this occasion; for they adhered to their ancient Gothic liturgy with the utmost obstinacy, and could not be brought to change it for the method of worship established at Rome. Alexander II. had indeed proceeded so far, in the year 1068, as to persuade the inhabitants of Arragon into his measures, and to conquer the aversion which the Catalonians had discovered for the Roman worship. But the honour of finishing this difficult work, was reserved for Gregory VII. who, without interruption, exhorted, threatened, admonished, and intreated Sancius and Alphonso, the kings of Arragon and Castile, until they consented to abolish the Gothic service in their churches, and to introduce the Roman in its place. Sancius was the first who complied with the request of the pontiff, and, in the year 1080, his example was followed by Alphonso. The methods which the nobles of Castile employed to decide the matter were very extraordinary. First, they chose two champions, who were to determine the controversy by single combat, the one fighting for the Roman liturgy, the other for the Gothic. This first trial ended in favour of the latter; for the Gothic hero proved victorious. The fiery trial was next made use of to terminate the dispute; the Roman and Gothic liturgies were committed to the flames, which, as the story goes, consumed the former, while the latter remained entire. Thus were the

Gothic rites crowned with a double victory, which, however, was not sufficient to maintain them against the authority of the pope, and the influence of the queen Constantia, who determined Alphonso in favour of the Roman service.

II. The zeal of the Roman pontiffs for introducing an uniformity of worship into the western churches may be, in some measure, justified; but their not permitting every nation to celebrate divine worship in their mother tongue was absolutely inexcusable. While, indeed, the Latin language was in general use among the western nations, there was no reason why it should not be employed in the public service of the church. But when the decline of the Roman empire drew on by degrees its decay in all the western provinces, it became reasonable that each people should serve the Deity in the language they understood. This reasoning, however evident and striking, had no influence upon the Roman pontiffs, who persisted, with the most senseless obstinacy, in retaining the use of the Latin language in the celebration of divine worship, even when it was no longer understood. A superstitious and extravagant veneration for antiquity, was undoubtedly the principal reason that rendered the pontiffs unwilling to abolish the use of the Latin language in the celebration of divine worship.

III. It would be tedious to enumerate the new inventions that were imposed upon Christians in this century. It would be also endless to mention the additions that were made to former inventions, the multiplication, for example, of the rites and ceremonies that were used in the worship of saints, relics, and images, and



and the new directions that were administered to such as undertook pilgrimages, or other superstitious services. We shall only observe, that, during the whole of this century, all the European nations were most diligently employed in rebuilding, repairing, and adorning their churches. Nor will this appear surprising when we consider, that, in the preceding century, all Europe was alarmed with a dismal apprehension that the *day of judgment* was at hand. Among the other effects of this panic terror, the churches and monasteries were suffered to fall into ruin, or at least to remain without repair, from a notion that they would soon be involved in the general fate. But when these apprehensions were removed, things put on a new face; the tottering temples were rebuilt, and the greatest zeal, attended with the richest and most liberal donations, was employed in restoring the sacred edifices to their former lustre, or rather in giving them new degrees of magnificence and beauty.

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## C H A P. V.

*Concerning the divisions and heresies, that troubled the church during this century.*

I. **T**HE state of the ancient sects, and particularly of the Nestorians, who resided in Asia and Egypt under the Mahometan government, was now much the same that it had been in the preceding century. The case of the Manicheans, whom the Grecian emperors had banished into Bulgaria and Thrace, was much more unhappy, on account of the perpetual conflicts they had with the Greeks, who persecuted

them with much keenness and animosity. The Greeks laid the blame upon the Manicheans, whom they represented as a turbulent, perfidious, and sanguinary faction, and as the inveterate enemies of the Grecian empire. This, however, is no impartial state of the case; at least it appears, that if the Manicheans were exasperated against the Greeks, their resentment was owing to the injurious treatment they had received from them.

Alexius Comnenus, who, by his learning, was an ornament to the imperial sceptre, perceiving that the Manicheans were not to be vanquished by the force of arms, had recourse to the power of reason, and spent whole days at Philippopolis, in disputing with their principal doctors. Many of them yielded to the victorious arguments of this royal disputant, and his associates; nor is this to be wondered at, since their demonstrations were enforced by rewards and punishments. Such of the Manicheans as retracted their errors, were loaded with gifts, honours, and privileges, according to their respective stations, while such as stood firm against the reasoning of the emperor, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

II. Many of them, either from a principle of zeal for the propagation of their opinions, or from a desire of getting rid of the persecution they suffered under the Grecian yoke, had retired from Bulgaria and Thrace, and formed settlements in other countries. Their first migration was into Italy; from whence, in process of time, they sent colonies into almost all the other provinces of Europe, and formed gradually a considerable number of religious assemblies, who adhered to their doctrine, and who were afterwards persecuted with the utmost vehemence by the Roman pontiffs. A considerable number  
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of them were, about the middle of this century, settled in Lombardy, Insubria, and principally at Milan; and many of them led a wandering life in France, Germany, and other countries, where they captivated the esteem and admiration of the multitude by their uncommon air of piety.

III. The first religious assembly which they had formed in France, is said to have been discovered at Orleans, in the year 1017, under the reign of Robert. An Italian lady is said to have been at the head of them; the principal members were twelve canons of the cathedral of Orleans, men eminently distinguished by their piety and learning, among whom Lifosius and Stephen held the first rank; and their party was composed, in general, of a considerable number of citizens, who were far from being of the meanest condition. The doctrines professed by these canons, were discovered by a priest named Heribert, and by Arifastus, a Norman nobleman, upon which Robert assembled a council at Orleans, and employed the most effectual methods to bring them to a better mind. But all his endeavours were to no purpose; they adhered obstinately to their principles, and hence they were at length condemned to be burnt alive.

It is difficult to come to a fixed determination with respect to the character and doctrine of these people; for when we examine matters attentively we find, that even their enemies acknowledged their piety; that they were blackened by accusations which were evidently false; and that the opinions for which they were punished differ widely from the Manichean system. As far as we can see into the case, these pretended Manicheans of Orleans were a set of Mystics, who slighted external worship, rejected all rites and ceremonies,



ceremonies, and placed the whole of religion in the internal contemplation of God, and the elevation of the soul to divine things.\*

IV. We find another branch of this numerous sect, who were converted by a pathetic discourse that was addressed to them by Gerhard, bishop of Cambray, in an assembly of the clergy, that was held, A. D. 1030. They had maintained, according to their own confession, that the whole of religion consisted in the study of practical piety and a course of action conformable to the divine laws, and treated all external modes of worship with contempt. Their particular tenets may be reduced to the following heads: 1. They rejected baptism, as not essential to salvation. 2. They rejected the sacrament of the Lord's supper. 3. They denied, that the churches were endowed with a greater degree of sanctity than private houses. 4. They disapproved of the use of incense and consecrated oil in services of a religious nature. 5. They looked upon the use of bells in the churches, as superstition. 6. They denied, that the establishment of bishops, presbyters, deacons, and other ecclesiastical dignities, was of divine institution. 7. They affirmed, that the institution of funeral rites was an effect of sacerdotal avarice, and that it was a matter of indifference whether the dead were buried in the churches or in the fields. 8. They looked upon those voluntary punishments, called *penance*, which were so generally practised in this century, as unprofitable and absurd. 9. They denied, that the sins of departed spirits could be atoned for, by the celebration of *masses*, or the distribution of alms to the poor, and they

\* There is much reason to doubt, whether these were not real, spiritual Christians, who did not despise external Religion, while they laid the main stress upon Internal.

treated,

treated, of consequence, the doctrine of purgatory, as a ridiculous fable. 10. They considered marriage as a pernicious institution, and condemned all connubial bonds.<sup>f</sup> 11. They looked upon a sort of veneration as due to the *apostles* and *martyrs*, but those only who had suffered death for the cause of Christ. 12. They declared the use of instrumental music in the churches to be superstitious. 13. They denied, that the cross on which Christ suffered was in any respect more sacred than other kinds of wood, and, of consequence, refused to pay to it the smallest degree of religious worship. 14. They not only refused all acts of adoration to the images of Christ, and of the saints, but were also for having them removed out of the churches.

When we consider the state of religion in this century, and particularly, the superstitious notions that were generally adopted in relation to outward ceremonies, the efficacy of penance, and the sanctity of churches, relics, and images, it will not appear surprising, that many persons of good sense and solid piety, running from one extreme to another, fell into these opinions, many of which are highly rational.

<sup>f</sup> This article is scarcely credible. It is more reasonable to suppose that they did not condemn marriage, but only held celibacy in higher esteem, as a mark of superior sanctity.

# THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

## PART I.

### The EXTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

#### CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the prosperous events that happened  
to the church during this century.*

**I.** A Considerable part of Europe lay yet involved in Pagan darkness, especially the northern provinces. It was, therefore, in these regions; that the zeal of the missionaries was principally exerted in this century; though their efforts were not all equally successful, nor the methods they employed equally prudent. Bolefflaus, duke of Poland, having conquered the Pomeranians, offered them peace upon condition that they would receive the Christian doctors. This condition was accepted, and Otho, bishop of Bamberg, a man of eminent piety was sent, in the year 1124, to explain the doctrines of Christianity among that barbarous people. Many were converted by his ministry, while great numbers persisted in the religion of their ancestors.



cestors. And upon his return into Germany, many of his converts relapsed into their ancient prejudices; this obliged Otho to undertake a second voyage into Pomerania, A. D. 1126, in which, after much opposition he enlarged the bounds of the rising church, and established it upon solid foundations. From this period, the Christian religion acquired daily new degrees of stability among the Pomeranians; who now willingly permitted the settlement of a bishop among them. They received Adalbert, or Albert, as the first bishop of Pomerania.

II. Of all the northern princes, none appeared with a more distinguished lustre than Waldemar I. king of Denmark, who acquired an immortal name by the glorious battles he fought against the Pagan nations, the Slavonians, Venedi, Vandals, and others. He unsheathed his sword not only for the defence of his people, but also for the propagation of Christianity; and wherever his arms were successful, he pulled down the temples and images of the gods, destroyed their altars, laid waste their sacred groves, and substituted in their place the Christian worship, which indeed deserved to be propagated by better means than the sword. The island of Rugen, which lies in the neighbourhood of Pomerania, submitted to the victorious arms of Waldemar, A. D. 1168: and its fierce and savage inhabitants, who were, in reality, no more than a band of robbers and pirates, were obliged to hear the instructions of the pious and learned doctors that followed his army, and to receive the Christian worship. This salutary work was brought to perfection by Absalom, archbishop of Lunden, a man of a superior genius and of a  
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most excellent character, whose eminent merit engaged Waldemar to place him at the head of affairs.

III. The Finlanders received the gospel in the same manner in which it had been propagated among the inhabitants of the isle of Rugen. They were also a fierce and savage people, who lived by plunder, and infested Sweden by their perpetual incursions, until, after many bloody battles, they were totally defeated by Eric IX. and were, in consequence thereof, reduced under the Swedish yoke. The Finlanders were commanded to embrace the religion of the conqueror, which the greatest part of them did, though with the utmost reluctance. The founder and ruler of this new church was Henry, archbishop of Upsal, who accompanied the victorious monarch in that bloody campaign. This prelate, whose zeal was not sufficiently tempered with the mild and gentle spirit of the religion he taught, treated the new converts with great severity, and was assassinated at last in a cruel manner. This procured Henry the honours of sainthood, solemnly conferred upon him by pope Adrian IV.

IV. The propagation of the gospel among the Livonians was attended also with horrible scenes of cruelty and bloodshed. The first missionary, who attempted the conversion of that savage people, was Mainard, a regular canon of St. Augustin, who, towards the conclusion of this century, travelled to Livonia, with a company of merchants of Bremen who traded thither, and improved this opportunity of spreading the light of the gospel in that barbarous region. The instructions and exhortations of this zealous apostle were little attended to; where-  
upon

upon he addressed himself to Urban III. who consecrated him bishop of the Livonians, and declared a *holy* war against that obstinate people. This war, which was at first carried on against the inhabitants of the province of Esthonia, was continued and rendered more universal by Berthold, abbot of Lucca, who left his monastery to share the labours of Mainard, whom he succeeded in the see of Livonia. The new bishop marched into that province at the head of a powerful army which he had raised in Saxony, preached the gospel sword in hand, and proved its truth by blows instead of arguments. Albert, canon of Bremen, became the third bishop of Livonia, and followed with a barbarous enthusiasm the same military methods of conversion that had been practised by his predecessor. He entered Livonia, A. D. 1198, with a fresh body of troops, and encamping at Riga, instituted there, by the direction of the Roman pontiff Innocent III. the *military order of the knights sword-bearers*, who were commissioned to dragoon the Livonians into Christianity. New legions were sent from Germany to second the efforts of these booted apostles; and they, together with the knights, so cruelly oppressed, slaughtered, and tormented this wretched people, that, unable to stand any longer against the arm of persecution, strengthened still by new accessions of power, they abandoned the statues of their pagan deities, and substituted in their place the images of the saints. But while they received the gospel, they were deprived of all earthly comforts; for their lands and possessions were taken from them with the most odious circumstances of cruelty and violence, and the knights and bishops divided the spoil.



V. None of the northern nations had a more rooted aversion to the Christians, and a more obstinate antipathy to their religion, than the Sclavonians, a rough and barbarous people, who inhabited the coast of the Baltic sea. This excited the zeal of several neighbouring princes, and of a multitude of pious missionaries, who united their efforts in order to conquer the prejudices of this people, and to open their eyes. Henry, duke of Saxony, surnamed the *Lion*, distinguished himself, in a particular manner, by the ardour which he discovered in the execution of this pious design. He restored from their ruins, and endowed richly three bishopricks that had been ravaged and destroyed by these Barbarians. The most eminent of the Christian doctors, who attempted the conversion of the Sclavonians, was Vicelinus, a native of Hamelen, a man of extraordinary merit, who surpassed almost all his contemporaries in genuine piety and solid learning, and who, after having presided many years in the society of the regular canons of St. Augustin at Falderen, was at length consecrated bishop of Oldenbourg. This excellent man had employed the last thirty years of his life, amidst numberless vexations, dangers, and difficulties, in instructing the Sclavonians, and exhorting them to comply with the invitations of the gospel of Christ; and as his pious labours were directed by true wisdom, and carried on with the most indefatigable industry, so were they attended with much fruit, even among that fierce and untractable people.

VI. It is needless to repeat the observation we have had so often occasion to make upon such conversions as these we have been now relating, or to advertise the reader that the savage nations, who were

were thus dragooned into the church, became the disciples of Christ, only in outward appearance. The pure and rational religion of the gospel was never presented to these unhappy nations; they were only taught to appease the Deity by a senseless round of trifling ceremonies, which, in many circumstances, resembled the superstitions they were obliged to renounce. Besides, the missionaries, whose zeal for imposing the name of Christians upon this people was so vehement, were extremely indulgent in all other respects, and opposed their prejudices and vices with much gentleness. They permitted them to retain several rites and observances that were in direct opposition to Christianity. In truth, the leading views of these Christian heralds, a small number excepted, were rather to advance their own interests, and to extend the dominion of the Roman pontiffs, than truly to convert these savage Pagans.

VII. A great revolution in Asiatic Tartary changed the face of things in that region about the commencement of this century, and proved, by its effects, extremely beneficial to the Christian cause. Towards the conclusion of the preceding century, died Koiremchan, otherwise called Kenchan, the most powerful monarch that was known in the eastern regions of Asia; and while that mighty kingdom was deprived of its chief, it was invaded, with such uncommon valour, by a Nestorian priest, whose name was John, that it fell before his victorious arms, and acknowledged this warlike and enterprising *presbyter* as its monarch. This was the famous Prester John, whose territory was, for a long time, considered by the Europeans as a second paradise. As he was a *presbyter* before his ele-

vation to the royal dignity, many continued to call him *presbyter John*, even when he was seated on the throne; but his kingly name was Ungchan. The high notions the Greeks and Latins generally entertained of the grandeur of this royal presbyter, were principally owing to the letters he wrote to the Roman emperor Frederic I. and to Emanuel emperor of the Greeks, in which, flushed with success, he vaunts his victories over the neighbouring nations, and describes, in the most pompous terms, the splendor of his riches, the grandeur of his state, and the extent of his dominions. All this was easily believed, and the Nestorians were extremely zealous in confirming the boasts of their vain-glorious prince. He was succeeded by his son, whose name was David, though, in common discourse, he was also called *Prestor John*. The reign of David was far from being happy; Genghiz Kan, the warlike emperor of the Tartars, invaded his territories towards the conclusion of this century, and deprived him both of his life and his dominions.

VIII. The new kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been erected by the *holy warriors* of France towards the conclusion of the preceding century, seemed to flourish considerably at the beginning of this, and to rest upon solid foundations. This prosperous scene was, however, soon succeeded by the most terrible calamities. For when the Mahometans saw vast numbers of those that had engaged in this holy war returning into Europe, and the Christian chiefs that remained in Palestine divided into factions, they resumed their courage, recovered from the consternation into which they had been thrown by the amazing valour of the European legions, and



and soliciting succours from all quarters, harassed and exhausted the Christians by invasions and wars without interruption. The Christians, on the other hand, sustained their efforts with fortitude, and maintained their ground during many years; but when Atabec Zenghi, after a long siege, made himself master of the city of Edessa, and threatened Antioch with the same fate, their courage began to fail, and a diffidence in their own strength obliged them to turn their eyes once more towards Europe. They accordingly implored the assistance of the European princes; and requested that a new army might be sent to support their tottering empire. Their entreaties were favourably received by the Roman pontiffs, who left no method of persuasion unemployed, that might engage the emperor and other Christian princes to execute a new expedition into Palestine.

IX. This new expedition was not resolved upon with such unanimity as the former had been; its expediency was keenly debated both in the cabinets of princes, and in the assemblies of the clergy and the people. Bernard, the famous abbot of Clairval, a man of the boldest resolution and of the greatest authority, put an end to these disputes under the pontificate of Eugenius III. who was wholly governed by his counsels. This eloquent and zealous ecclesiastic *preached the cross*, i. e. the *crusade*, in France and Germany, with great success; and in the grand parliament assembled at Vezelai, A. D. 1146, at which Lewis VII. king of France, with his queen, and a prodigious concourse of the principal nobility, were present, Bernard recommended this holy expedition with such a persuasive power, and declared with such as-

surance that he had a divine commission to fore-  
 tel its success, that the king, the queen, and all  
 the nobles, immediately put on the military cross,  
 and prepared themselves for a voyage into Pa-  
 lestine. Conrad III. emperor of Germany, was  
 afterwards gained over by the solicitations of the  
 fervent abbot, and followed, accordingly, the  
 example of the French monarch. The two  
 princes, each at the head of a numerous army,  
 set out for Palestine, to which they were to  
 march by different roads. But, before their ar-  
 rival in the Holy land, the greatest part of their  
 forces were melted away, and perished misera-  
 bly, some by famine, some by the sword of the  
 Mahometans, some by shipwreck, and a consi-  
 derable number by the perfidious cruelty of the  
 Greeks, who looked upon the western nations  
 as more to be feared than the Mahometans  
 themselves. Lewis VII. left his kingdom, A. D.  
 1147, and, in the month of March of the fol-  
 lowing year, he arrived at Antioch, with the  
 wretched remains of his army, exhausted and  
 dejected by the hardships they had endured.  
 Conrad set out also in the year 1147, in the  
 month of May; and, in November following,  
 he arrived at Nice, where he joined the French  
 army, after having lost the greatest part of his  
 own by calamities of various kinds. From Nice  
 the two princes proceeded to Jerusalem, A. D.  
 1148, from whence they led back into Europe,  
 the year following, the miserable handful of  
 troops, which had survived the disasters they  
 met with. Such was the unhappy issue of this  
 second *crusade*, which was rendered ineffectual  
 by a variety of causes, but more particularly by  
 the jealousies and divisions that reigned among  
 the Christian chiefs in Palestine. Nor was it  
 more

more ineffectual in Palestine than it was detrimental to Europe, by draining the wealth of its fairest provinces, and destroying such a prodigious number of its inhabitants.

X. The unhappy issue of this second expedition was not however sufficient to render the affairs of the Christians, in Palestine, entirely desperate. Had their chiefs and princes laid aside their animosities and contentions, and attacked the common enemy with their united force, they would have soon recovered their glory. But this was far from being the case. A fatal corruption of sentiments and manners reigned among all orders. Both the people and their leaders, and more especially the latter, abandoned themselves to all the excesses of ambition, avarice, and injustice; they indulged themselves in the practice of all sorts of vices; and by their intestine quarrels, jealousies, and discords, weakened their efforts against the enemies that surrounded them on all sides. Saladin, sultan of Egypt and Syria, and the most valiant chief of whom the Mahometan annals boast, took advantage of these divisions. He waged war against the Christians with the utmost success; took prisoner Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, in a fatal battle fought near Tiberias, A. D. 1187; and, in the course of the same year, reduced Jerusalem itself under his dominion. The carnage that accompanied this dreadful campaign threw the affairs of the Christians into the most desperate condition, and left them no glimpse of hope, but from the expected succours of the European princes.

XI. The third expedition was undertaken, A. D. 1189, by Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, who, with a prodigious army,



army, marched through several Grecian provinces, where he had innumerable difficulties to overcome, into the Lesser Asia, from whence, after having defeated the sultan of Iconium, he penetrated into Syria. His valour and conduct promised glorious campaigns to the army he commanded, when, by an unhappy accident, he lost his life in the river Saleph, which runs through Seleucia. The manner of his death is not known with certainty; the loss however of such an able chief dejected the spirits of his troops, so that considerable numbers of them returned into Europe. Those that remained continued the war under the command of Frederic, son of the deceased emperor; but the greatest part of them perished miserably by a pestilential disorder, which raged with prodigious violence in the camp, and swept off vast numbers every day. The new general died of this terrible disease, A. D. 1191; those that escaped its fury were dispersed, and few returned to their own country.

XII. The example of Frederic Barbarossa was followed in the year 1190, by Philip Augustus king of France, and *lion-hearted* Richard king of England. These two monarchs set out from their respective dominions with a considerable number of ships of war and transports, arrived in Palestine in the year 1191, each at the head of a separate army, and were successful in their first encounters with the infidels. After the reduction of the strong city of Acca or Ptolemais, which had been defended with the most obstinate valour, the French monarch returned into Europe, in the month of July, 1191, leaving, however, behind him a considerable part of the army which he had conducted into Palestine.

After

After his departure, the king of England pushed the war with the greatest vigour, gave daily marks of his heroic intrepidity and military skill, and not only defeated Saladin in several engagements, but also made himself master of Joppa and Cæsarea. Deserted, however, by the French and Italians, and influenced by other motives of the greatest weight, he concluded, A. D. 1192, with Saladin, a truce of three years, three months, and as many days, and soon evacuated Palestine with his whole army. Such was the issue of the third expedition against the infidels, which exhausted England, France, and Germany, both of men and money, without bringing any solid advantage, or giving a favourable turn, to the affairs of the Christians in the Holy land.

XIII. These bloody wars between the Christians and the Mahometans gave rise to *three famous military orders*, whose office it was to destroy the robbers that infested the public roads, to harass the Turks by perpetual inroads, to assist the poor and sick pilgrims, whom the devotion of the times conducted to the holy sepulchre, and to perform several other services that tended to the general good. The first of these orders was that of the *knights of St. John of Jerusalem*, who derived their name, and particularly that of *Hospitallers*, from an hospital dedicated, in that city, to St. John the *baptist*, in which certain pious and charitable brethren were constantly employed in relieving and refreshing with necessary supplies the indigent and diseased pilgrims, who were daily arriving at Jerusalem. When this city became the metropolis of a new kingdom, the revenues of the hospital were so prodigiously increased by the liberality

liberality of several princes, and the pious donations of opulent persons, that they far surpassed the wants of those whom they were designed to relieve. Hence it was that Raymond du Puy, who was the ruler of this charitable house, offered to the king of Jerusalem to make war upon the Mahometans at his own expence, seconded by his brethren, who served under him in this famous hospital. Balduin II. to whom this proposal was made, accepted it readily, and the enterprize was solemnly approved of by the Roman pontiff. Thus, all of a sudden, the world was surpris'd with the transformation of a devout fraternity, who had lived remote from the noise and tumult of arms in the performance of works of charity and mercy, into a valiant band of warriors. The whole Order was upon this occasion divided into three classes; the first contained the *knights*, or soldiers of illustrious birth, who were to unsheath their swords in the Christian cause; in the second were comprehended the *priests*, who were to officiate in the churches that belonged to the order; and in the third, the *serving brethren*, or the soldiers of low condition. This celebrated order gave, upon many occasions, eminent proofs of their valour, and acquired immense opulence by their heroic atchievements. When Palestine was irrecoverably lost, the *knights* passed into the isle of Cyprus; they afterwards made themselves masters of the isle of Rhodes, where they maintained themselves for a long time; but being, at length, driven thence by the Turks, they received from the emperor Charles V. a grant of the island of Malta, where their chief, or grand commander, still resides.



XIV. Another order, which was entirely of a military nature, was that of the *knights templars*, so called from a palace, adjoining to the temple of Jerusalem, which was appropriated to their use by Balduin II. The foundations of this order were laid at Jerusalem, in the year 1118, by Hugues des Payens, Geoffry of St. Aldemar, and seven other persons whose names are unknown; but it was not before the year 1228, that it acquired a proper degree of stability, by being confirmed solemnly in the council of Troyes, and subjected to a rule of discipline drawn up by St. Bernard. These warlike templars were to defend and support the cause of Christianity by force of arms, to have inspection over the public roads, and to protect the pilgrims, who came to visit Jerusalem, against the insults and barbarity of the Mahometans. The order flourished for some time, and acquired, by the valour of its knights, immense riches and an eminent degree of military renown; but, as their prosperity increased, their vices were multiplied to such a height, that their privileges were revoked, and their order suppressed.

XV. The third order resembled the first in this respect, that, though it was a military institution, the care of the poor and the relief of the sick were not excluded from the services it prescribed. Its members were distinguished by the title of *Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem*. We cannot trace it farther back than the year 1190, during the siege of Acca, or Ptolemais. During that long and tedious siege, several pious and charitable merchants of Bremen and Lubec, touched with compassion at a sight of the miseries that the besiegers suffered in the midst of their success, devoted themselves  
entirely

entirely to the service of the sick and wounded soldiers, and erected a kind of hospital or tent, where they gave constant attendance to all such unhappy objects as had recourse to their charity. This pious undertaking was so agreeable to the German princes, who were present at this terrible siege, that they thought proper to form a fraternity of German knights to bring it to a greater degree of perfection. Their resolution was highly approved by Celestine III. who confirmed the new order by a bull issued out the twenty-third of February, A. D. 1192. This order was entirely appropriated to the Germans, and even of them none were admitted as members of it, but such as were of illustrious birth. The support of Christianity, the defence of the Holy land, and the relief of the poor and needy, were the important duties to which the Teutonic knights devoted themselves by a solemn vow. Austerity and frugality were the first characteristics of this rising order, and the equestrian garment (a white mantle with a black cross) was the only reward which the knights derived from their generous labours. But this austerity was of short duration, and diminished in proportion as the revenues and possessions of the order augmented. The Teutonic knights, after their retreat from Palestine, made themselves masters of Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and Semigallen; but, in process of time, their victorious arms received several checks, and when the light of the reformation arose upon Germany, they were deprived of the richest provinces which they possessed in that country, though they still retain there a certain portion of their ancient territories.

## C H A P. II.

*Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.*

I. **C**H RISTIANITY in the west had disarmed its most inveterate enemies, and deprived them of the power of doing much mischief, though they still entertained the same aversion to the disciples of Jesus. The Jews and Pagans were no longer able to oppose the propagation of the gospel, or to oppress its ministers. Their malignity remained, but their credit and authority were gone. The Jews were accused by the Christians of various crimes, whether real or fictitious we shall not determine; but, instead of attacking their accusers, they were satisfied to defend their own lives, and to secure their persons, without daring to give vent to their resentment. The state of things was somewhat different in the Northern provinces. The Pagans were yet numerous there in several districts, and, wherever they were the majority, they persecuted the Christians with the utmost barbarity. It is true, the Christian kings and princes, who lived in the neighbourhood of these persecuting Barbarians, checked by degrees their impetuous rage, and never ceased to harass them by perpetual wars, until, at length, they subdued them entirely, and deprived them, by force, both of their independency and their superstitions.

II. The writers of this century complained grievously of the inhuman rage with which the Saracens persecuted the Christians in the east. But they pass over in silence the principal rea-



sons that inflamed the resentment of this fierce people, and forget that the Christians were the first aggressors in this dreadful war. If we consider the matter with candour, the conduct of the Saracens will not appear so surprising, when we reflect on the provocations they received. In the first place, they had a right to repel, by force, the violent invasion of their country, and the Christians could not expect that a people whom they attacked with a formidable army, and whom, in the fury of their zeal, they massacred without mercy, should receive their insults with a tame submission, and give up their lives and possessions without resistance. It must also be confessed, that the Christians did not content themselves with making war upon the Mahometans in order to deliver Jerusalem out of their hands, but carried their brutal fury to the greatest length, disgraced their cause by the most detestable crimes, filled the eastern provinces, through which they passed, with scenes of horror, and made the Saracens feel the terrible effects of their violence and barbarity wherever their arms were successful. Is it then surprising to see the infidel Saracens committing, by way of reprisal, the same barbarities that the holy warriors had perpetrated without the least provocation? Is there any thing extraordinary in this, that a people naturally fierce, and exasperated, moreover, by the calamities of a religious war carried on against them in contradiction to all the dictates of justice and humanity, should avenge themselves upon the Christians who resided in Palestine, as professing the religion which gave occasion to the war, and attached, of consequence, to the cause of their enemies and invaders?

III. The rapid victories of the great Genghizkan, emperor of the Tartars, gave an unhappy turn to the affairs of the Christians in the northern parts of Asia, towards the conclusion of this century. This heroic prince, who was by birth a Mogul, rendered his name formidable throughout all Asia, whose most flourishing dynasties fell successively before his victorious arms. David, or Ungchan, the successor of the famous Prester John, was the first victim that Genghizkan sacrificed to his ambition. He invaded his territory, and put to flight his troops in a bloody battle, where David lost, at the same time, his kingdom and his life. The princes, who governed the Turks, Indians, and the province of Cathay, fell, in their turn, before the victorious Tartar, and were all either put to death, or rendered tributary; nor did Genghizkan stop here, but, proceeding into Persia, India, and Arabia, he overturned the Saracen dominion in those regions, and substituted that of the Tartars in its place. From this period the Christian cause lost much of its authority in the provinces that had been ruled by Prester John and his successor David, and continued to decline from day to day, until, at length, it sunk entirely under the weight of oppression, and was succeeded in some places by the errors of Mahomet, and in others by the superstitions of Paganism. We must except, however, the kingdom of Tangut, the chief residence of Prester John, in which his posterity, who persevered in the profession of Christianity, maintained, for a long time, a sort of tributary dominion, which exhibited a faint shadow of their former grandeur.

## PART II.

## The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

## CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.*

I. **N**OTWITHSTANDING the decline of the Grecian empire, the calamities in which it was frequently involved, and the perpetual revolutions and civil wars that consumed its strength and were precipitating its ruin, the arts and sciences still flourished in Greece. This was owing, not only to the liberality of the emperors, and to the extraordinary zeal which the family of the Comneni discovered for the advancement of learning, but also to the provident vigilance of the patriarchs of Constantinople, who took all possible measures to prevent the clergy from falling into ignorance, lest the Greek church should be deprived of able champions to defend its cause against the Latins. The learned commentaries of Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica, upon Homer, and Dionysius the *Geographer*, are sufficient to shew the diligence and labour that were employed by men of the first genius in the improvement of erudition and in the study of antiquity. And if we turn our view towards the various writers who composed the history of their own times, such as Zonaras, Nicephorus, and others, we shall find in their productions undoubted marks of learning and genius.

II. Nothing



II. Nothing could equal the zeal with which Michael Anghialus, patriarch of Constantinople, encouraged the study of philosophy by his munificence, and still more by his example. It seems to have been the Aristotelian philosophy that was most favoured by this eminent prelate. We are not, however, to imagine that the sublime wisdom of Plato was neglected, or that his doctrines were fallen into disrepute. It appears, on the contrary, that they were adopted by many. Such more especially, as had imbibed the precepts and spirit of the Mystics, preferred them infinitely before the Peripatetic philosophy. This diversity of sentiments produced the famous controversy, which was managed with such vehemence among the Greeks, concerning the respective merit and excellence of the Peripatetic and Platonic doctrines.

III. In the western world, the pursuit of knowledge was now carried on with incredible ardour, and all the various branches of science were studied with the greatest application. This literary enthusiasm was supported by the influence and liberality of certain of the European monarchs, and Roman pontiffs, who perceived the happy tendency of the sciences to soften the savage manners of uncivilized nations. Hence learned societies were formed, and colleges established in several places, in which the liberal arts and sciences were publicly taught. The prodigious concourse of students, who resorted thither for instruction, occasioned, in process of time, the enlargement of these schools, which had arisen from small beginnings, and their erection into *universities*, as they were called, in the succeeding age. The principal cities of Europe were adorned with establishments of this kind; but

Paris surpassed them all in the number and variety of its schools, the reputation of its public teachers, and the immense multitude of the youth that frequented its colleges. And thus was exhibited in that famous city the model of our present schools of learning; which, in after-times, was corrected and improved, and brought gradually to perfection. About the same time the famous school of Angers, in which the youth were instructed in various sciences, and particularly in the civil law, was founded by Ulgerius, bishop of that city; and the college of Montpellier, where law and physic were taught, had already acquired a considerable reputation. The same literary spirit reigned also in Italy. The academy of Bologna, whose origin may certainly be traced higher than this century, was now in the highest renown, and was frequented by great numbers of students, and of such more especially as were desirous of being instructed in the civil and canon laws. The fame of this academy was, in a great measure, owing to the munificence of the emperor Lotharius II. who took it under his protection, and enriched it with new privileges and immunities. In the same province flourished also the celebrated school of Salernum, whither great numbers resorted, and which was wholly set apart for the study of physic. While this zealous emulation, in advancing the cause of learning, animated so many princes and prelates, the Roman pontiff, Alexander III. was seized also with this noble enthusiasm. In a council held at Rome, A. D. 1179, he caused a solemn law to be published, for the erecting new schools in the monasteries and cathedrals, and restoring to their primitive lustre those which, through the sloth and ignorance of the monks and bishops, had fallen into ruin.

IV. An unexpected event restored in Italy the authority of the ancient Roman law, and, at the same time, lessened the credit of all the other systems of legislation that had been received for several ages. This event was the discovery of the original manuscript of the famous Pandect of Justinian, which was found in the ruins of Amalphi, or Melfi, when that city was taken by Lotharius II. in the year 1137, and of which that emperor made a present to the inhabitants of Pisa, whose fleet had contributed, in a particular manner, to the success of the siege. This admirable collection was no sooner recovered than the Roman law became the grand object of the studies of the learned. In the academy of Bologna, there were particular colleges erected expressly for the study of the Roman jurisprudence; and these institutions were multiplied in several parts of Italy in process of time, and animated other European nations to imitate the example. Hence arose a great revolution in the public tribunals, and an entire change in their judicial proceedings. Hitherto different systems of law were followed in different courts, and every person of distinction, particularly among the Franks, had the liberty of choosing the body of laws, that was to be the rule of his conduct. But the Roman law acquired such authority, that it superseded, by degrees, all other laws in the greatest part of Europe, and was substituted in the place of the Salic, Lombard, and Burgundian codes, which before this period were in the highest reputation.

V. No sooner was the civil law placed in the number of the sciences, and considered as a branch of academical learning, than the Roman pontiffs, and their adherents, judged it highly necessary,



necessary, that the *canon law* should have the same privilege. There were not wanting before this time certain collections of the *canons* or laws of the church; but these collections were so destitute of order and method, and were so defective both in respect to matter and form, that they could not be conveniently made use of as systems of ecclesiastical polity. Hence it was, that Gratian, a Benedictine monk, belonging to the convent of St. Felix and Nabor at Bologna, and by birth a Tuscan, composed about the year 1130, for the use of the schools, an abridgment, or *Epitome of canon law*, drawn from the letters of the pontiffs, the decrees of councils, and the writings of the ancient doctors. Pope Eugenius III. was extremely satisfied with this work, which was also received with the highest applause by the doctors of Bologna, and unanimously adopted, as the text they were to follow in their public lectures. The professors at Paris followed the example of those of Bologna, which, in process of time, was imitated by the greatest part of the European colleges. But, notwithstanding the encomiums bestowed upon this performance, which was commonly called the *decretal of Gratian*, it is full of errors and defects of various kind. As, however, the main design of this abridgment of the *canons* was to support the despotism, and to extend the authority of the Roman pontiffs, its innumerable defects were overlooked, its merits were exaggerated; and, what is still more surprising, it enjoys at this day that high degree of veneration and authority, which was inconsiderately, though more excusably, lavished upon it in an age of tyranny, superstition, and darkness.

VI. Such among the Latins as were ambitious of making a figure in the republic of letters, applied

applied themselves with the utmost diligence, to the study of philosophy. Philosophy, taken in its most extensive meaning, comprehended, according to the method which was received towards the middle of this century, four classes: it was divided into *theoretical, practical, mechanical, and logical*. The first class comprehended *natural theology, mathematics, and natural philosophy*. In the second class were ranked *ethics, æconomics, and politics*. The third contained the arts that are more immediately subservient to the purposes of life, such as *navigation, agriculture, &c.* The fourth was divided into *grammar and composition*, the latter of which was farther subdivided into *rhetoric, dialectic, and sophistry*; and under the term *dialectic* was comprehended that part of *metaphysic* which treats of *general notions*. This division was almost universally adopted. Some, indeed, were for separating *grammar* and *mechanics* from *philosophy*; a separation highly condemned by others, who, under the general term *philosophy*, comprehended the whole circle of the sciences.

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## C. H. A. P. II.

*Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government, during this century.*

I. **W**HEREVER we turn our eyes among the various orders of the clergy, we perceive the most flagrant marks of licentiousness and fraud, ignorance and luxury, and other vices, whose pernicious effects were deeply felt both in church and state. If we except a very small number, who lamented the corruption

corruption of their order, it may be said, with respect to the rest, that their whole business was to satisfy their lusts, to multiply their privileges by grasping perpetually at new honours, to increase their opulence, to diminish the authority, and to incroach upon the privileges of princes and magistrates, and, neglecting entirely the interests of religion, to live in ease and pleasure. This appears manifestly from two remarkable treatises of St. Bernard, in one of which he exposes the corruption of the pontiffs and bishops, while he describes in the other the enormous crimes of the monastic orders.

II. The Roman pontiffs, who were placed successively at the head of the church, governed it by the maxims of worldly ambition, and thereby fomented the warm contest that had already arisen between the imperial and sacerdotal powers. On the one hand, the popes not only maintained the opulence and authority they had already acquired, but extended their views farther, and laboured strenuously to enlarge both, though they had not all equal success. The European emperors and princes, on the other hand, alarmed at the strides which the pontiffs were making to universal dominion, used their utmost efforts to check their growing opulence and power. These violent dissensions between the empire and the priesthood (for so the contending parties were styled) were most unhappy in their effects, which were felt throughout all the European provinces.

Pascal II. who had been raised to the pontificate about the conclusion of the preceding age, seemed now to sit firm in the apostolic chair, without the least apprehension from the imperial faction. Although after the death of Guibert,



Guibert, the imperial party chose in his place a person named Albert, who was seized the day of his election, and cast into prison. Theodoric and Magnulf, were successively chosen after Albert, but could not support for any time their claim to the pontificate.

Pascal, therefore, unwilling to let pass unimproved the present success of the papal faction, renewed, in a council assembled at Rome A. D. 1102, the decrees of his predecessors against investitures, and the excommunications they had thundered out against Henry IV. and used his most vigorous endeavours to raise up on all sides new enemies to that unfortunate emperor. Henry, however, opposed, with great constancy, the efforts of this violent pontiff, and eluded with much dexterity his perfidious stratagems. But his heart, wounded in the tenderest part, lost all its firmness, when, in the year 1106, an unnatural son, under the pretext of religion, took up arms against him. Henry V. so was this monster afterwards named, seized his father in a most treacherous manner, and obliged him to abdicate the empire; after which the unhappy prince retired to Liege, where, deserted by all his adherents, he got rid of his misery in the year 1106. Pascal dissolved the oath of fidelity that Henry had taken to his father; and not only so, but adopted the cause and supported the interests of this unnatural rebel with the utmost zeal, assiduity, and fervour.

III. The revolution, that this odious rebellion caused in the empire, was, however, much less favourable to the views of Pascal than he expected. Henry V. could by no means be persuaded to renounce his right of investing the bishops and abbots, though he was willing to grant

grant the right of election to the canons and monks, as was usual. Upon this the exasperated pontiff renewed, in the councils of Guastalla and Troyers, the decrees that had so often been issued out, and the flame broke out with new force. It was, indeed, suspended during a few years, by the wars in which Henry V. was engaged. But no sooner had he made peace with his enemies, and composed the tumults that troubled the empire, than he set out for Italy with a formidable army, A. D. 1110, in order to put an end to this long contest. He advanced towards Rome by slow marches, while the trembling pontiff, seeing himself destitute of all succour, and reduced to the lowest condition, proposed to him the following conditions of peace: That he, on the one hand, should renounce the right of investing with the ring and crozier; and that the bishops and abbots should, on the other hand, resign to the emperor all the grants they had received from Charlemagne, of those rights and privileges that belong to royalty, such as the power of raising tribute, coining money, and possessing independent lands and territories. These conditions were agreeable to Henry, who accordingly gave a formal consent to them in the year 1111; but they were extremely displeasing to the Italian and German bishops. Hence a terrible tumult arose in the church of St. Peter, where the contending parties were assembled with their respective followers, upon which Henry ordered the pope to be seized, and to be confined in the castle of Viterbo. After having lain there for some time, the captive pontiff was engaged, by his present condition, to enter into a new convention, by which he solemnly receded from the article

article of the former treaty that regarded investitures, and confirmed to the emperor the privilege of inaugurating the bishops and abbots with the *ring* and *crozier*. Thus was the peace concluded, in consequence of which the vanquished pontiff arrayed Henry with the imperial diadem.

IV. This transitory peace, which was the fruit of necessity, was followed by more dreadful wars, than had yet afflicted the church. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, Rome was filled with the most vehement commotions, and an universal cry was raised against the pontiff, who was accused of having violated the dignity of his station, and of having prostituted the majesty of the church by his ignominious compliance with the demands of the emperor. To appease these commotions, Pascal assembled, in the year 1112, a council in the church of Lateran, and there not only confessed the fault he had committed in concluding such a convention, but submitted moreover the decision of that matter to the council, who took that treaty into consideration, and solemnly annulled it. This step was followed by many events that gave, for a long time, an unfavourable turn to the affairs of the emperor. He was excommunicated in many councils both in France and Germany; nay, he was placed in the black list of *heretics*, a denomination, which exposed him to the greatest dangers in these superstitious and barbarous times; and, to complete his anxiety, he saw the German princes revolting from his authority, and taking up arms in the cause of the church. To put an end to the calamities that thus afflicted the empire, Henry set out a second time for Italy, with a numerous army, in the



year 1116, and arrived the year following at Rome, where he assembled the consuls, senators, and nobles, while the fugitive pontiff retired to Benevento. Pascal, however, engaged the Normans to come to his assistance, and, encouraged by the prospect of immediate succour, prepared every thing for a vigorous war against the emperor, and attempted to make himself master of Rome. But, in the midst of these warlike preparations, the military pontiff concluded his days A. D. 1118.

V. A few days after the death of Pascal, John of Gaieta, a Benedictine monk, and chancellor of the Roman church, was raised to the pontificate under the title of Gelasius II. In opposition to this choice, Henry elected Maurice Burdin, archbishop of Braga in Spain, who assumed the denomination of Gregory VIII. Upon this, Gelasius, not thinking himself safe in Italy, set out for France, and in a little time after died at Clugni. The Cardinals, who accompanied him, elected to the papacy Guy archbishop of Vienne, count of Burgundy, who was nearly related to the emperor, and is distinguished by the name of Calixtus II. The elevation of this eminent ecclesiastic was, in the issue, extremely happy both for church and state. Remarkably distinguished by his illustrious birth, and still more by his noble qualities, this magnanimous pontiff continued to oppose the emperor, and to carry on the war both with the sword of the spirit, and with the arm of flesh. He made himself master of Rome, threw into prison the pontiff that had been chosen by the emperor, and fomented the civil commotions in Germany. But his fortitude and resolution were accompanied with a generosity and compliance,

pliance, which differed much from the obstinate arrogance of his predecessors. Accordingly, he was willing to relinquish a part of the demands upon which the former pontiffs had so vehemently insisted, that he might restore the public tranquillity, and satisfy the ardent desires of so many nations, who groaned under the dismal effects of these deplorable divisions.

It is evident, that the brutish manners of those who ruled the church were the only reason that rendered the dispute concerning *investitures* so violent and tedious. During five and fifty years, the church was governed by monks, who, to the obscurity of their birth, and the unbounded rapacity of their ambition and avarice, joined that inflexible obstinacy which is one of the essential characteristics of the monastic order. Hence those furious efforts of ambition and vengeance, that dishonoured the church and afflicted the state. But as soon as the papal chair was filled by a man of an ingenuous turn, and of a liberal education, the face of things changed entirely, and a prospect of peace arose to the hopes of ruined and desolate countries.

VI. These hopes were not disappointed; for, after much contestation, peace was, at length, concluded between the emperor and the pope's legates, at a general diet held at Worms A. D. 1122. The conditions were as follow:

"That for the future the bishops and abbots shall be chosen by those to whom the right of election belongs; but that this election shall be made in presence of the emperor, or of an ambassador appointed by him.

"That, in case a dispute arise among the electors, the decision of it shall be left to the emperor,

emperor, who is to consult with the bishops upon that occasion :

" That the bishop or abbot elect shall take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, receive from his hand the *regalia*, and do homage for them :

" That the emperor shall no more confer the *regalia* by the ceremony of the *ring* and *crozier*, but by that of the *sceptre*, which is more proper to invest the person elected in the possession of rights and privileges merely temporal."

This convention was solemnly confirmed the year following in the general council of Lateran, and remains still in force; though the true sense of some of its articles has occasioned disputes between the emperors and pontiffs.

VII. The contest between the emperors and the popes, which was now considered as at an end, was unhappily renewed under the pontificate of Adrian IV. who was a native of England, and whose original name was Nicolas Breakspear. Frederic I. surnamed *Barbarossa*, was no sooner seated on the imperial throne, than he publicly declared his resolution to maintain the privileges of the Roman empire in general, and more particularly in Italy; nor was he studious to conceal the design he had formed of reducing the overgrown power of the pontiffs and clergy within narrower limits. Adrian perceived the danger that threatened the church, and the authority of the clergy, and prepared himself for defending both with vigour. The first occasion of trying their strength was offered at the coronation of the emperor at Rome, in the year 1155, when the pontiff insisted upon Frederic's performing the office of equerry, and holding the stirrup to his Holiness. This humbling proposal was at first rejected with disdain



dain by the emperor, and was followed by other contests of a more momentous nature relating to the political interests of the empire. These differences were no sooner reconciled than new disputes arose in the year 1158, when the emperor, in order to put a stop to the enormous opulence of the pontiffs, bishops, and monks, which increased from day to day, enacted a law to prevent the transferring of *fiefs* without the knowledge or consent of the superior or lord in whose name they were held, and turned the whole force of his arms to reduce the little republics of Italy under his dominion. An open rupture between the emperor and the pontiff was expected as the inevitable consequence of such vigorous measures, when the death of Adrian, which happened on the first of September, A.D. 1159, suspended the storm.

VIII. In the election of a new pontiff, the cardinals were divided into two factions. The most numerous and powerful of the two raised to the pontificate Roland, bishop of Sienna, who assumed the name of Alexander III. while the opposite party elected Octavian, cardinal of St. Cecilia, known by the title of Victor IV. The latter was patronised by the emperor, to whom Alexander was extremely disagreeable. The council of Pavia, which was assembled by the emperor in the year 1160, pronounced in favour of Victor, who became thereby triumphant in Germany and Italy; so that France alone was left open to Alexander, who accordingly left Rome, and fled thither for protection. Amidst the tumults which this schism occasioned, Victor died at Lucca, in the year 1164, but his place was immediately filled by the emperor, at whose desire Guy, cardinal of St. Calixtus, was elected

pontiff under the title of Pascal III. and acknowledged in that character by the German princes assembled in 1167, at the diet of Wurtzbourg. In the mean time Alexander recovered his spirits, and returning into Italy maintained his cause with uncommon resolution, and not without some hopes of success. He held at Rome, in the year 1167, the council of Lateran, in which he solemnly deposed the emperor (whom he had, upon several occasions before, loaded publicly with anathemas,) dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken to him, and encouraged and exhorted them to rebel against his authority. But, soon after this, the emperor made himself master of Rome, upon which the pontiff fled to Benevento, and left the apostolic chair to Pascal, his competitor.

IX. The affairs of Alexander seemed to take soon after a more prosperous turn, when, the greatest part of the imperial army being consumed by a pestilential disorder, the emperor was forced to abandon Italy, and when the death of Pascal, in the year 1168, delivered him from such a powerful rival. But this fair prospect soon vanished. For the imperial faction elected to the pontificate John, abbot of Strum, under the title of Callixtus III. whom Frederic, notwithstanding his absence in Germany, supported to the utmost of his power. When peace was, in a good measure, restored in the empire, Frederic marched into Italy, A. D. 1174, with a design to chastise the perfidy of the states and cities that had revolted during his absence. Had this expedition been crowned with success, Alexander would, undoubtedly, have been obliged to yield the papal chair to Callixtus. But the emperor, after having, during three years, been alternately  
defeated

defeated and victorious, was, at length, so fatigued, that, in the year 1177, he concluded a peace at Venice with Alexander III. and a truce with the rest of his enemies.

X. Alexander III. who was rendered so famous by his long contest with Frederic I. was also engaged in a warm dispute with Henry II. king of England, which was occasioned by the arrogance of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. In the council of Clarendon, which was held in the year 1164, several laws were enacted, by which the king's power and jurisdiction over the clergy were accurately explained, and the rights and privileges of the bishops and priests reduced within narrower bounds.

Henry II. had formed the wise project of bringing the clergy under the jurisdiction of the civil courts, on account of the crimes which the ecclesiastical tribunals let pass with impunity. The *Constitutions of Clarendon*, which consisted of sixteen articles, were drawn up for this purpose: and as they are proper to give the reader a just idea of the prerogatives that were claimed equally by the king and the clergy, and that occasioned such warm debates between state and church, it will not be useless to transcribe them.

I. When any difference relating to the right of patronage arises between the laity, or between the *clergy* and *laity*, the controversy is to be tried and ended in the *King's Court*.

II. Those churches which are *fees* of the crown cannot be granted away without the king's consent.

III. When the *clergy* are charged with any misdemeanor, and summoned by the justiciary, they shall be obliged to make their appearance in his court, and plead to the indictment; and likewise



wise to answer such articles in the Ecclesiastical Court as they shall be prosecuted for by that jurisdiction. And in case any *clerk* is convicted, he is to forfeit the privilege of his character, and to be protected by the church no longer.

IV. No archbishops, bishops, or parsons, are allowed to depart the kingdom, without a licence from the crown; and, provided they have leave to travel, they shall give security, not to act or solicit any thing during their passage, stay, or return, to the prejudice of the king or kingdom.

V. When any of the laity are prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Courts, the charge ought to be proved before the bishop by legal witnesses: and, if any offenders appear screened from prosecution upon the score either of favour, or quality, the sheriff, at the bishop's instance, shall order twelve sufficient men of the neighbourhood to make oath before the bishop, that they will discover the truth according to the best of their knowledge.

VI. Excommunicated persons shall not be obliged to give security to continue upon the place where they live; but only to abide by the judgment of the church in order to their absolution.

VII. No person that *holds in chief of the king* or any of his barons, shall be excommunicated, or any of their estates put under an *interdict*, before application made to the king, provided he is in the kingdom.

VIII. In case of appeals in ecclesiastical causes, the first step is to be made from the archdeacon to the bishop: and from the bishop to the archbishop: and, if the archbishop fails to do justice, a farther recourse may be had to the king, by whose order the controversy is to be finally decided in the archbishop's Court.

IX. If

IX. If a difference happens to arise between any clergyman and layman concerning any tenement; and the clerk pretends it held by *frank-almoine*,<sup>a</sup> and the layman pleads it a *lay-fee*; the tenure shall be tried by the verdict of twelve sufficient men of the neighbourhood. And, if the tenement or thing in controversy shall be found *frank-almoine*, the dispute concerning it shall be tried in the Ecclesiastical Court. But, if it is brought in a *lay-fee*, the suit shall be followed in the King's Courts.

X. He who holds of the king in any city, castle, or borough, or resides upon any of the demesne-lands of the crown, in case he is cited by the archdeacon or bishop to answer any misbehaviour belonging to their cognizance; if he refuses to obey their summons, and stand to the sentence of the court, it shall be lawful for the ordinary to put him under an interdict, but not to excommunicate him, till the king's principal officer of the town shall be pre-acquainted with the case.

XI. All archbishops, bishops, and ecclesiastical persons, who hold of the king in chief, are for that reason obliged to appear before the king's justices, to answer the duties of their tenure, and to observe all the usages and customs of the realm.

XII. When any archbishoprick, bishoprick, abbey, or priory of royal foundation, becomes vacant, the king is to make seizure: from which time, all the profits are to be paid into the Exchequer, as if they were the demesne-lands of the crown. And when it is determined the vacancy shall be filled up, the king is to summon the most considerable persons of the chapter to

<sup>a</sup> i. e. A tenure by divine service, as Britton explains it.

Court, and the election is to be made in the chapel-royal, with the consent of our sovereign lord the king, and by the advice of such persons of the government, as his highness shall think fit to make use of. At which time, the person elected, before his consecration, shall be obliged to do homage to the king, as his liege lord.

XIII. If any of the temporal barons shall encroach upon the rights or property of any archbishop, bishop, or archdeacon, and refuse to make satisfaction for wrong done by themselves, or their tenants, the king shall do justice to the party aggrieved. And, if any person shall disseize the king of any part of his lands, or trespass upon his prerogative, the archbishops, bishops, and archdeacons shall call him to an account, and oblige him to make the crown restitution; i. e. *They were to excommunicate such persons in case they proved incorrigible.*

XIV. The goods and chattels of those who lie under forfeitures of felony or treason are not to be detained in any church or church-yard, to secure them against seizure; because such goods are the king's property, whether they are lodged within the precincts of a church or without it.

XV. All actions and pleas of debts shall be tried in the King's Courts.

XVI. The sons of copy-holders are not to be ordained without the consent of the lord of the manor where they were born.

Such were the articles of the constitutions of Clarendon, against the greatest part of which the pope protested. They were signed by the English clergy and also by Becket. The latter, however, repented of what he had done, and, retiring from court, suspended himself from his office in the church for about forty days, till he received



received absolution from Alexander III. who was then at Sens. His aversion to these articles manifested itself by an open rebellion against his sovereign, in which he discovered his true character, as a most daring, turbulent, vindictive, and arrogant priest, whose ministry was solely employed in extending the despotic dominion of Rome, and whose fixed purpose was to aggrandize the church upon the ruins of the state.

Upon this there arose a violent debate between the resolute monarch and the rebellious prelate, which obliged the latter to retire into France, where Alexander III. was at that time. This pontiff and the king of France interposed their good offices to compose these differences, in which they succeeded so far, as to encourage Becket to return into England, where he was re-instated in his forfeited dignity. But the generous and indulgent proceedings of his sovereign towards him, were not sufficient to conquer his arrogant and rebellious obstinacy in maintaining, what he called, the privileges of the church, nor could he be induced by any means to comply with Henry. The consequences of this inflexible resistance were fatal to the haughty prelate; for he was, soon after his return into England, assassinated before the altar, while he was at vespers in his cathedral, by four gentlemen of the court, whose names were Fitz-Urse, Tracy, Britton, and Morville, who murdered Becket in his chapel, and thus performed, in a licentious and criminal manner, an action which the laws might have commanded with justice. But it is remarkable, that, after the murder, the assassins durst not return to the king's court, which was then in Normandy; but retired at first to Knaresborough in Yorkshire, which

which belonged to Morville, from whence they repaired to Rome for absolution, and being admitted to penance by Alexander III. were sent, by the orders of that pontiff, to Jerusalem, and passed the remainder of their lives upon the Black Mountain in the severest acts of austerity and mortification. All this does not look as if the king had been concerned in this murder, or had consented to it. On the contrary, various circumstances concur to prove that Henry was entirely innocent of it. The king, suspecting the design of the four gentlemen above-mentioned, by some menacing expressions they had dropt, "dispatched (says Mr. Hume) a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate. But these orders came too late." This event produced warm debates between the king of England and the Roman pontiff, who gained his point so far as to make the suppliant monarch undergo a severe course of penance, in order to expiate a crime of which he was considered as the principal promoter, while the murdered prelate was solemnly enrolled in the highest rank of saints and martyrs in the year 1173.

XI. It was not only by force of arms, but dexterity and artifice, that Alexander III. extended the authority of the Roman pontiffs. For in the third council of the Lateran, held at Rome, A. D. 1179, the following decrees, among many others, were passed by his authority: 1<sup>st</sup>. That in order to put an end to the dissensions, which so often accompanied the election of the Roman pontiffs, the right of election should not only be vested in the *cardinals* alone, but also that the person, in whose favour two thirds of the cardinals voted, should be

be considered as duly elected. This law is still in force; it was therefore from the time of Alexander that the election of the pope acquired that form which it still retains, and by which not only the people, but also the Roman clergy, are excluded entirely from all share in conferring that dignity. *2dly.* A spiritual war was declared against Heretics, who infested, particularly, several provinces in France. *3dly.* The right of nominating to the saintly order was also taken away from councils and bishops, and *canonization* was ranked among the *important causes*, the cognizance of which belonged to the pontiff alone. To all this we must add, that the power of erecting new kingdoms, which had been claimed by the pontiffs from the time of Gregory VII. was not only assumed, but also exercised by Alexander in a remarkable instance; for in the year 1179, he conferred the title of king, with the ensigns of royalty, upon Alphonso I. duke of Portugal, who, under the pontificate of Lucius II. had rendered his province tributary to the Roman see.

XII. Celestine III. thundered his excommunications against the emperor Henry VI. and Leopold, duke of Austria, on account of their having seized and imprisoned Richard I. king of England, as he was returning from the Holy Land; he also subjected to the same malediction Alphonso X. king of Gallicia and Léon, on account of an incestuous marriage into which he had entered; and commanded Philip Augustus, king of France, to re-admit to the conjugal state and honours Ingelburg his queen, whom he had divorced; though this order, indeed, produced but little effect. But it was in consequence of the vigorous proceedings of Innocent III. that



the re-union between Philip and Ingelburg was accomplished.

XIII. If, from the pontiffs, we descend to the other ecclesiastical orders, such as the bishops, priests, and deacons, the most disagreeable objects will be exhibited to our view, even the gross ignorance, the odious frauds, and the flagitious crimes that reigned through all ranks and orders of the clergy. The reign of corruption reached at last even the convents; and the monks, who were gaining with the most ardent efforts the summit of ecclesiastical authority, and who beheld both the *secular clerks* and the *regular canons* with contempt, began to degenerate, and to exhibit to the people scandalous examples of immorality and vice. The Benedictines of Clugni, who undoubtedly surpassed, in purity of manners, all the monastic orders who lived under their rule, maintained their integrity for a long time, amidst the general decay of piety. They were however at length carried away with the torrent; corrupted by the treasures that were poured in daily by the opulent and pious, they fell from their primitive austerity, following the dissolute examples of the other Benedictines.

XIV. The *Cistercian Order*, which was much inferior to the monks of Clugni, both with respect to the antiquity of their institution, and the revenues of their convent, surpassed them far in the external regularity of their manners, and in a striking air of innocence and sanctity, which the others had almost entirely lost. Hence they acquired that high authority, which the order of Clugni had formerly enjoyed, and increased daily in number, credit, and opulence. The famous St. Bernard, abbot of Clairval, whose influence throughout all Europe was incredible,

credible, whose word was a law, and whose counsels were regarded by kings and princes as so many orders to which the most respectful obedience was due; this eminent ecclesiastic was the person who contributed most to enrich and aggrandize the Cistercian Order. Hence he is justly considered as the second founder of that Order; and hence the Cistercians, not only in France, but also in Germany and other countries, were distinguished by the title of *Bernardin monks*. A hundred and sixty religious communities derive their origin, or their rules of discipline, from this illustrious abbot, and he left, at his death, seven hundred monks in the monastery of Clairval. The church abounded with bishops and archbishops that had been prepared for the ministry by his instructions, and he counted also, among the number of his disciples, Eugenius III. one of the best and wisest of the Roman pontiffs.

XV. The growing prosperity of the *Cistercian Order* excited the envy and jealousy of the monks of Clugni, and, after several dissensions, produced at length an open rupture between them. They both followed the rule of St. Benedict, though they differed in their habit, and in certain laws, which the Cistercians had added to that rule. The monks of Clugni accused the *Cistercians* of affecting an extravagant austerity; while the *Cistercians* charged them with having degenerated from their former sanctity. St. Bernard, who was the oracle of the Cistercians, wrote, in the year 1127, an *Apology* for his own conduct in relation to the division that subsisted between the two convents, and inveighed with a just severity against the vices of the monks of Clugni. This charge was answered, though with

and common moderation and candour, by Peter Mauricius, abbot of Clugni; and hence it occasioned a controversy in form, which excited disturbances in several provinces of Europe.

XVI. The *regular canons*, who were erected into a permanent order in the preceding century, employed their time in a much more useful and exemplary manner than the monastic drones, who passed their days in luxury and sloth. They kept public schools for the instruction of youth, and exercised a variety of ecclesiastical functions. Hence they arose daily in reputation, received many noble donations, and were also often put in possession of the revenues of the monks, whose dissolute lives occasioned, from time to time, the suppression of their convents. This inflamed the monastic orders against the regular canons, whom they attacked with the greatest fury, and loaded with the bitterest invectives. The canons, in their turn, exclaimed against the monks with the utmost vehemence; enumerated their vices both in their discourses and in their writings, and insisted upon their being confined to their monasteries, and excluded from all ecclesiastical honours and functions.

XVII. Norbert, a German nobleman, who went into holy orders, and was afterwards archbishop of Magdebourg, employed his most zealous efforts to restore to its primitive severity the discipline of the *regular canons*, which was extremely relaxed in some places, and almost abolished in others. This eminent reformer founded, in the year 1121, the *Order of Premontré* in Picardy, whose fame spread throughout Europe with an amazing rapidity, and whose opulence, in a short space of time, became enormous, in consequence of the esteem which



which the monks of this community had acquired by the gravity of their manners, and their assiduous application to the liberal arts and sciences. But their over-grown prosperity was the source of their ruin; it soon diminished their zeal for the exercises of devotion, extinguished their thirst after useful knowledge, and thus step by step plunged them, at length, into all sorts of vices. The rule which they followed was that of St. Augustin, with some slight alterations and an addition of certain severe laws, whose authority, however, did not long survive their austere founder.

The religious of this order were at first so poor, that they had nothing they could call their own, but a single ass, which served to carry the wood they cut down every morning and sent to Laon in order to purchase bread. But in a short time they received so many donations, and built so many monasteries, that, thirty years after the foundation of this Order, they had above an hundred abbies in France and Germany. In process of time, the Order increased so prodigiously, that it had monasteries in all parts of Christendom, amounting to one thousand abbies, three hundred priories, a vast number of priories, and five hundred nunneries. But this number is now greatly diminished. Besides what they lost in protestant countries, of sixty-five abbies, that they had in Italy, there is not one now remaining.

XVIII. About the middle of this century, a Calabrian, whose name was Berthold, set out with a few companions for mount Carmel, and, upon the very spot where the prophet Elijah is said to have disappeared, built an humble cottage, with an adjoining chapel, in which he led a life of solitude, austerity, and labour. This

little colony subsisted, and the places of those that died were more than filled by new comers; so that it was, at length, erected into a monastic community by Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem. This austere prelate drew up a rule of discipline for the new monks, which was afterwards confirmed by the Roman pontiffs, who altered it in several respects; and, among other corrections, mitigated its excessive rigour. Such was the origin of the famous *Order of Carmelites*, which was afterwards transplanted from Syria into Europe, and obtained the principal rank among the mendicant or begging orders.

XIX. To this brief account of the religious orders, it will not be amiss to add a list of the principal Greek and Latin writers. The most eminent among the Greeks were those that follow:

Eustratius, who maintained the cause of the Greek church against the Latins with great learning and spirit, and who wrote commentaries on certain books of Aristotle:

Johannes Zonaras, whose *Annals*, together with several other productions of his learned pen, are still extant:

Theodorus Balsamon, who employed great diligence, erudition, and labour, in explaining and digesting the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the Greeks.

XX. The most eminent among the Latin writers were,

Bernard, abbot of Clairval, from whom the Cistercian monks, as has been already observed, derived the title of Bernardines; a man who was not destitute of genius and taste, and whose judgment, in many respects, was just and penetrating; but who, on the other hand, discovered

in his conduct many marks of superstition, and, what was still worse, concealed the lust of dominion under the mask of piety, and made no scruple of loading with false accusations such as had the misfortune to incur his displeasure :

Abelard, the most famous in this century on account of the elegance of his wit, the extent of his erudition, the power of his rhetoric, and the bitterness of his unhappy fate :

Richard of St. Victor, who was at the head of the Mystics in this century, and whose treatise, entitled *The Mystical Ark*, which contains, as it were, the marrow of that kind of theology, was received with the greatest avidity :

Peter Lombard, who was commonly called, in France, *Master of the Sentences*, because he had composed a work so entitled, which was a collection of opinions and sentences relative to the various branches of theology, extracted from the Latin doctors, and reduced into a sort of system :

John of Salisbury, a man of great learning and true genius, whose philosophical and theological knowledge was adorned with a lively wit and a flowing eloquence, as appears in his *Metalogicus*, and his book *De nugis Curialium* :

Petrus Comestor, author of *An Abridgement of the Old and New Testament*, which was used in the schools for the instruction of the youth, and called probably from thence *Historia Scholastica*.



## C H A P. III.

*Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church in this century.*

I. **W**HEN we consider the multitude of causes which united their influence in obscuring the lustre of genuine Christianity, and corrupting it by a profane mixture of the inventions of superstitious and designing men, it will appear surprising that the religion of Jesus was not totally extinguished. All orders contributed to corrupt the native purity of true religion. The Roman pontiffs led the way; they would not suffer any doctrines that had the smallest tendency to diminish their despotic authority; but obliged the public teachers to interpret the precepts of Christianity in such a manner, as to render them subservient to the support of papal dominion. Such as had the courage to place the authority of the gospel above that of the Roman pontiffs, and to consider it as the supreme rule of their conduct, were answered with the formidable arguments of fire and sword. The priests and monks contributed to disfigure the beautiful simplicity of religion; and, finding it their interest to keep the people in the grossest ignorance, dazzled their eyes with the ludicrous pomp of a gaudy worship, and led them to place the whole of religion in vain ceremonies, bodily austerities, and particularly in a blind veneration for the clergy. The scholastic doctors, who considered the decisions of the ancients and the precepts of the Dialecticians as the great rule of truth, instead of explaining the doctrines of the gospel, mined

mined them by degrees, and sunk divine truth under the ruins of a captious philosophy; while the Mystics, running into the opposite extreme, excluded reason entirely from religion and morality.

II. The consequences of all this were superstition and ignorance, which reigned with an universal sway. Relics, for the most part fictitious, attracted more powerfully the confidence of the people, than the merits of Christ, and were supposed by many to be more effectual than the prayers offered through the mediation of that divine Redeemer. The opulent, whose circumstances enabled them either to erect new temples, or to repair and embellish the old, were looked upon as the happiest of all mortals, and the most intimate friends of the Most High. While they whom poverty rendered incapable of such pompous acts of liberality, contributed to the multiplication of religious edifices by their bodily labours, chearfully performed the services that beasts of burden are usually employed in, such as carrying stones and drawing waggons, and expected to obtain eternal salvation by these painful efforts of misguided zeal. The saints had a greater number of worshippers, than the Supreme Being and the Saviour of mankind; nor did these worshippers trouble their heads about that knotty question, which occasioned much debate in succeeding times, *viz. How the inhabitants of heaven came to the knowledge of the prayers and supplications that were addressed to them from the earth?*

III. This universal reign of ignorance and superstition was dexterously improved by the rulers of the church, to fill their coffers. The bishops, when they wanted money for their private pleasures, granted their flock the power  
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of purchasing the remission of the penalties imposed upon transgressors, by a sum of money; or, in other words, they published *indulgences*, which became an inexhaustible source of opulence to the episcopal orders. The *abbots* and *monks*, who were not qualified to grant *indulgences*, had recourse to other methods of enriching their convents. They carried about the country the relics of the saints in solemn procession, and permitted the multitude to behold, touch, and embrace these sacred remains, at certain fixed prices. The monastic orders gained often as much by this raree-show, as the bishops did by their *indulgences*.

IV. When the Roman pontiffs cast an eye upon the immense treasures that the inferior rulers of the church were accumulating by the sale of *indulgences*, they thought proper to limit the power of the bishops, and assumed, almost entirely, this profitable traffic to themselves. In consequence of this, the court of Rome became the general magazine of *indulgences*; and the pontiffs, when either the emptiness of their coffers, or the demon of avarice, prompted them to look out for new subsidies, published, not only an universal, but also a complete, or what they called a *plenary* remission of all the *temporal* pains and penalties, which the church had annexed to certain transgressions. They went still farther; and not only remitted the penalties, which the laws had enacted against transgressors, but impiously pretended to abolish even the punishments which are reserved in a future state for the workers of iniquity; a step this, which the bishops, with all their avarice and presumption, had never once ventured to take.

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The pontiffs first employed this pretended prerogative in promoting the holy war; but, in process of time, the charm of indulgences was practised upon various occasions of much less consequence. Their introduction, among other things, destroyed the authority of the ancient *canonical and ecclesiastical discipline of penance*, by which the reins were let loose to every kind of vice. To justify these measures a doctrine was now invented, which was modified and embellished by St. Thomas in the following century; "That there actually existed an immense treasure of *merit*, composed of the virtuous actions, which the saints had performed *beyond what was necessary* for their own salvation, and which were therefore applicable to the benefit of others; that the dispenser of this precious treasure was the Roman pontiff; and that of consequence, he was empowered to *assign* to such as he thought proper, a *portion* of this inexhaustible source of *merit*, suitable to their respective guilt, and sufficient to deliver them from the punishment due to their crimes." It is a most deplorable mark of the power of superstition, that a doctrine, so absurd, should yet be retained in the church of Rome.

V. From this period an important distinction was made between the Christian doctors, who were divided into two classes. In the first class were placed those, who were called *biblici*, i. e. bible-doctors, and *veteres*, or ancients; and in the second were ranged the *scholastics*, who were also distinguished by the titles of *Sententarii*, after the *Master of the sentences*, and *Novi*, to express their recent origin. The former expounded, though in a wretched manner, the sacred writings in their public schools, illustrated the doctrines of Christianity without deriving any  
succours

succours from reason or philosophy, and confirmed their opinions by the united testimonies of *Scripture* and *Tradition*. The latter expounded, instead of the Bible, the famous *Book of Sentences*; reduced, under the province of their subtle philosophy, whatever the gospel proposed as an object of faith, or a rule of practice; and obscured its divine doctrines and precepts by a multitude of vain questions and idle speculations. The method of the *scholastics* exhibited a pompous aspect of learning, and these subtle doctors seemed to surpass their adversaries in sagacity and genius; hence they excited the admiration of the studious youth, who flocked to their schools in multitudes, while the *biblici* had the mortification to see their auditories unfrequented, and almost totally deserted. The scholastic theology continued in high repute in all the European colleges until the time of Luther.

VI. The important science of morals was not now in a very flourishing state, as may be easily imagined when we consider the genius and spirit of that philosophy, which reduced all the other sciences under its dominion. The only moral writer among the Greeks, who is worthy of mention, is Philip, surnamed the *Solitary*, whose book intitled *Dioptra*, which consists in a dialogue between the body and the soul, is composed with judgment and elegance, and contains many things proper to nourish pious sentiments.

The Latin Moralists of this age may be divided into two classes, the *scholastics* and *mystics*. The former discoursed about virtue, as they did about truth, in the most unfeeling jargon, and generally subjoined their arid system of morals to what they called their *didactic theology*. The latter treated the duties of morality in a quite different

different manner; their language was tender, persuasive, and affecting, and their sentiments often beautiful and sublime; but they taught in a confused and irregular manner, and frequently mixed the dross of Platonism with the pure treasures of celestial truth.

We might also place in the class of moral writers the greatest part of the commentators of this century, who, laying aside all attention to the signification of the words used by the sacred writers, and scarcely ever attempting to illustrate the truths they reveal, turned, by forced and allegorical explications, every passage of scripture to practical uses.

VII. Both Greeks and Latins were extremely fond of captious questions and theological contests, while the love of controversy involved them in labyrinths of uncertainty and error. The discovery of truth was not, indeed, the great object they had in view; their principal design was to embarrass their adversaries, and overwhelm them with an enormous heap of fine-spun distinctions, an impetuous torrent of words without meaning, a long list of formidable authorities, and a specious train of fallacious consequences.

VIII. The contest between the Greeks and Latins was still carried on by both parties with the greatest vehemence. The Grecian champions were Euthymius, Nicetas, and others of less renown, while the cause of the Latins was vigorously maintained by Anselm, bishop of Havelsberg, and Hugo Etherianus, who distinguished themselves eminently in this famous controversy. Many attempts were made both at Rome and Constantinople, to reconcile these differences; and this union was solicited, in a



particular manner, by the emperors in the Comnene family, who expected to draw much advantage from the friendship of the Latins towards the support of the Grecian empire. But as the Latins aimed at nothing less than a despotic supremacy over the Greek church, and as the Grecian bishops could by no means be induced to yield an implicit obedience to the Roman pontiff, or to condemn their ancestors, the negotiations widened the breach instead of healing it, and the terms proposed on both sides, but especially by the Latins, exasperated, instead of calming, the resentments of the contending parties.

IX. These controversies were succeeded, about the year 1140, by one concerning the *Immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary*. Certain churches in France began, about that time, to celebrate the festival consecrated to this pretended *conception*, which the English had observed before this period in consequence of the exhortations of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. The church of Lions was one of the first that adopted this new festival, which no sooner came to the knowledge of St. Bernard, than he severely censured the Canons of Lions on account of this innovation, and opposed the *Immaculate conception of the Virgin* with the greatest vigour, as it supposed her being honoured with a privilege which belonged to Christ alone. Upon this a warm contest arose; some siding with the Canons of Lions, and adopting the new festival, while others adhered to the sentiments of St. Bernard. The controversy, however, notwithstanding the zeal of the contending parties, was carried on, during this century, with decency and moderation. But, in after-times, when

when the Dominicans were established in the academy of Paris, the contest was renewed with the greatest vehemence, and the same subject was debated, on both sides, with the utmost animosity. The Dominicans declared for St. Bernard, while the academy patronized the Canons of Lions, and adopted the new festival.

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## C H A P. IV.

*Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.*

I. **T**HE rites and ceremonies used in divine worship, both public and private, were now greatly augmented among the Greeks, and the same superstitious passion for the introduction of new observances discovered itself in all the eastern churches. The Grecian, Nestorian, and Jacobite pontiffs, that were any way remarkable for their credit or ambition, were desirous of transmitting their names to posterity by the invention of some new rite, or by some striking change introduced into the method of worship that had hitherto prevailed. This was, indeed, almost the only way left to distinguish themselves in an age, where all sense of genuine religion and substantial piety being lost, the whole care of an ostentatious clergy, and a superstitious multitude, was employed upon a round of external ceremonies. Thus some attempted to render their names immortal, by introducing a new method of reciting the prayers of the church; others changed the church-music; others, again, tortured their inventions to find out some new mark of veneration, that might

be offered to the relics and images of the saints; while several did not disdain to employ their time in embellishing the garments of the clergy, and in forming the motions and postures they were to observe in the celebration of divine worship.

II. We may learn from the book *De divinis officiis*, composed by the famous Rupert, or Robert, of Duytz, what were the rites in use among the Latins during this century. We cannot here enlarge upon the additions that were made to the doctrinal part of religion. We shall only observe, that the enthusiastic veneration for the Virgin Mary, which had been hitherto carried to such an excessive height, increased now instead of diminishing, since her dignity was at this time considerably augmented by the new fiction relating to her *immaculate conception*. For though, as we observed, St. Bernard and others opposed with vigour this chimerical notion, yet their efforts were counteracted by the superstitious fury of the deluded multitude. So that about the year 1138, there was a solemn festival instituted in honour of this pretended *conception*, though we know not by whose authority it was first established, nor in what place it was first celebrated.

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## C H A P. V.

*Concerning the divisions and heresies, that troubled the church during this century.*

I. **T**HE Greek and eastern churches were infested with fanatics of different kinds. But the accounts that have been given of them, are



are not to be depended upon; and there are several circumstances which render it probable, that many persons of eminent piety, and zeal for genuine Christianity, were ranked in the list of heretics, merely on account of their opposing the vicious practices and the insolent tyranny of the priesthood, and their treating with derision that motley spectacle of superstition that was supported by public authority. In all the eastern provinces, this sort of men were distinguished by the general appellation of *Euchites*, as the Latins comprehended all the adversaries of the Roman pontiff under the general terms of *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*.

II. The Latin sects were more numerous than those of the Greeks, and this will not appear surprising to such as consider the state of religion in the greatest part of the European provinces. The reign of superstition, the vices of the clergy, the luxury and indolence of the pontiffs and bishops, the encouragement of impiety by the traffic of *indulgences*, increasing from day to day, several pious men, who had the cause of Christ and of his religion at heart, easily perceived that both were in a most declining state, and therefore attempted a reformation in the church, in order to restore Christianity to its primitive purity. But the knowledge of these good men was not equal to their zeal, nor were their abilities in any proportion to the grandeur of their undertakings. The greatest part of them were destitute both of learning and judgment, and, involved in the general ignorance of the times, understood but very imperfectly the holy scriptures, from whence Christianity is to be derived. In a word, few of these well-meaning Christians were equal to an

attempt so difficult and arduous; and the consequence was, that, while they avoided the reigning abuses, they fell into others, and carried the spirit of censure and reformation to such an excessive length, that it degenerated often into the extravagancies of enthusiasm, and engendered a number of new sects, that became a new dishonour to the Christian cause.

III. Among the sects that troubled the Latin church during this century, the principal place is due to the Catharists. This numerous body, leaving their first residence, which was in Bulgaria, spread themselves throughout almost all the European provinces; but their fate was unhappy; for, wherever they were found, they were put to death with the most unrelenting cruelty. Their religion resembled the doctrine of the Manicheans. They exhorted all who embraced it, to a rigorous abstinence from animal food, wine, and wedlock, and recommended to them in the most pathetic terms the most severe acts of austerity. They treated with contempt all the books of the *Old Testament*, but expressed a high degree of veneration for the *New*, particularly for the *Four Gospels*. They maintained, that human souls were shut up in the dungeons of mortal bodies, from whence they could only be delivered by fasting, mortification, and continence of every kind.

IV. A more rational sect was that which was founded about the year 1110 in *Languedoc* and *Provence* by Peter de Bruys, who made the most laudable attempts to reform the abuses and to remove the superstitions that disfigured the

I doubt this whole account: although it is certain these things were imputed to them by their persecutors.

simplicity

simplicity of the gospel. After having engaged in his cause a great number of followers, during a laborious ministry of twenty years, he was burnt at St. Giles's, in the year 1130, by an enraged populace, set on by the clergy. The whole system of doctrine, which this unhappy martyr taught his disciples, is not known; it is however affirmed, that the five following tenets made a part of his system; 1. That no persons were to be baptized before they were come to the use of their reason. 2. That it was superstition to build churches for the service of God, who will accept of a sincere worship wherever it is offered<sup>g</sup>. 3. That crucifixes were instruments of superstition. 4. That the real body and blood of Christ were not exhibited in the eucharist, but merely represented. 5. and lastly, That the oblations, prayers, and good works of the living, could be in no respect advantageous to the dead.

V. This innovator was succeeded by another, who was an Italian by birth, and whose name was Henry, the founder of the sect who were called *Henricians*. It was, no doubt, a rare thing to see a person, who was at the same time monk and hermit, undertaking to reform the superstitions of the times; yet such was the case of Henry, who leaving Lausanne, a city in Switzerland, travelled to Mans, and being banished thence removed successively to Poitiers, Bourdeaux, and the countries adjacent, and at length to Thoulouse in the year 1147, exercising his ministerial function in all these places with the utmost applause from the people, and declaiming, with the greatest vehemence and fervour, against the vices of the clergy, and the

<sup>g</sup> I doubt, whether he ever held this.



superstitions they had introduced into the Christian church. At Thoulouse he was warmly opposed by St. Bernard<sup>h</sup>, by whose influence he was overpowered, notwithstanding his popularity, and obliged to save himself by flight. But being seized, in his retreat, by a certain bishop, he was carried before pope Eugenius III. who presided in person at a council then assembled at Rheims, and who committed him, in the year 1148, to a close prison, where, in a little time, he ended his days. We have no accurate account of the doctrines of this reformer transmitted to our times. All we know is, that he censured with severity the corrupt and licentious manners of the clergy; treated the ceremonies of the church with the utmost contempt; and held clandestine assemblies, in which he explained and inculcated the novelties he taught.

VI. In Italy Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard, and a man of extensive erudition and remarkable austerity, excited new commotions both in church and state. He was condemned in the council of the Lateran, A. D. 1139, by Innocent II. and thereby obliged to retire into Switzerland; but, upon the death of that pontiff, he returned into Italy, and occasioned at Rome, during the pontificate of Eugenius III. several tumults among the people, who insulted the persons of the clergy in the most disorderly manner. He fell, however, at last a victim to the vengeance of his enemies; for, after various turns of fortune, he was seized, in the year 1155, by a prefect of the city, by whom he was crucified, and afterwards burned to ashes.

<sup>h</sup> What kind of saint was this?

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This unhappy man seems not to have adopted any doctrines inconsistent with the spirit of true religion; and the principles upon which he acted were chiefly reprehensible from their being carried too far, and executed with too great vehemence. Having perceived the discords and animosities, the calamities and disorders, that sprung from the over-grown opulence of the pontiffs and bishops, he was persuaded that the interests of the church required, that the clergy should be divested of all their worldly possessions. He, therefore, maintained, that the revenues of popes, bishops, and monasteries, ought to be transferred to the supreme rulers of each state, and that nothing was to be left to the ministers of the gospel but a spiritual authority and a subsistence drawn from tithes, and from the voluntary contributions of the people<sup>1</sup>.

VII. Of all the sects that arose in this century, none was more distinguished by the reputation it acquired, by the multitude of its votaries, and the testimony which its bitterest enemies bore to the probity and innocence of its members, than that of the Waldenses, so called from their parent and founder Peter Waldus. This sect was known by different denominations. From the place where it first appeared, its members were called *The poor men of Lions*. The origin of this famous sect was as follows: Peter, an opulent merchant of Lions, surnamed Valdensis, from Vaux, or Waldum, a town in the marquisate of Lions, being extremely zealous for the advancement of true piety and Christian knowledge, employed a certain priest, about the

<sup>1</sup> Probably this account is highly aggravated.

year 1160, in translating from Latin into French the Holy Scripture and the most remarkable sentences of the ancient doctors. But no sooner had he perused these sacred books with attention, than he perceived that the religion, which was now taught in the Roman church, differed totally from that which was inculcated by Christ and his apostles. Struck with this discovery, and animated with a pious zeal for promoting his own salvation and that of others, he abandoned his mercantile vocation, distributed his riches among the poor, and forming an association with other pious men, began, in the year 1180, to instruct the multitude in the doctrines of Christianity. The archbishop of Lions, and the other rulers of the church in that province, opposed him with vigour. But their opposition was unsuccessful; for the purity and simplicity of that religion which these good men taught, the spotless innocence that shone forth in their lives and actions, and the noble contempt of riches and honours which was conspicuous in the whole of their conduct, appeared so engaging to all such as had any sense of true piety, that the number of their disciples and followers increased from day to day<sup>k</sup>. They formed re-

<sup>k</sup> Dr. McLaine gives a different account of their origin: his words are, "Valdus derived his name from the Waldenses of Piedmont, whose doctrine he adopted, and who were known by the names of Vaudois and Waldenses, before he or his immediate followers existed. If the Waldenses or Waldenses had derived their name from any eminent teacher, it would probably have been from Valdo, who was remarkable for the purity of his doctrine in the IXth century. But the truth is, they derive their name from their Vallies in Piedmont, which in their language are called Vaux, hence Vaudois, their true name; hence Peter or (as others call him) John of Lyons, was called in Latin, Valdus, because he had adopted their doctrine; and hence the term Waldenses and Waldenses used by those, who write in English or Latin, in the place of Vaudois."



ligious assemblies, first in France, and afterwards in Lombardy, from whence they propagated their sect throughout the other provinces of Europe with incredible rapidity, and with such invincible fortitude, that neither fire nor sword, nor the most merciless persecution, could damp their zeal, or ruin their cause.

VIII. The attempts of Peter Waldus and his followers were neither employed nor designed to introduce new doctrines into the church, nor to propose new articles of faith to Christians. All they aimed at was, to reduce the form of ecclesiastical government, and the lives and manners both of the clergy and people, to that amiable simplicity, and that primitive sanctity that characterised the apostolic ages. They complained that the Roman church had degenerated from its primitive purity and sanctity. They denied the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, and maintained that the rulers and ministers of the church were obliged, by their vocation, to imitate the poverty of the apostles. They considered every Christian, as in a measure authorized to instruct, exhort, and confirm the brethren in their christian course; and demanded the restoration of the ancient penitential discipline of the church, which the new-invented doctrine of *indulgences* had abolished. They, at the same time, affirmed, that confession made to priests was by no means necessary, since the humble offender might acknowledge his sins to any true believer, and might expect from such the counsels and admonitions that his case required. They maintained, that the power of delivering sinners from the guilt of their offences belonged to God alone; and that *in-*  
*dulgences,*

*dulgences*, of consequence, were the criminal inventions of sordid avarice. They looked upon the prayers and other ceremonies that were instituted in behalf of the dead, as vain, useless, and absurd. These were the doctrines of the Waldenses. Their rules of practice were extremely austere; for they adopted, as their model, the sermon of Christ on the mount, which they explained in the most literal manner, and, of consequence, prohibited in their society all wars, and suits of law, all attempts towards the acquisition of wealth, and oaths of all kinds.

IX. The government of the church was committed, by the Waldenses, to *bishops*, *presbyters*, and *deacons*; for they acknowledged, that these three ecclesiastical orders were instituted by Christ himself. But they looked upon it as absolutely necessary, that all these orders should resemble exactly the apostles, and, be, like them, destitute of all worldly possessions, and furnished with some trade, in order to gain their daily subsistence. The laity were divided into two classes; one of which contained the *perfect*, and the other the *imperfect* Christians. The former divested themselves of all worldly possessions, and emaciated their bodies by frequent fasting. The latter were less austere, and approached nearer to the method of living generally received, though they abstained from all appearance of pomp and luxury. It is, however, to be observed, that the Waldenses were not without their divisions. Such of them as lived in Italy differed from those who dwelt in France and the other European nations. The former considered the church of Rome as the church of Christ, though much corrupted  
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and sadly disfigured; and declared they would continue in communion with it, provided they might be allowed to live as they thought proper, without molestation or restraint. The latter affirmed, that the church of Rome had apostatized from Christ, and was that *whore of Babylon* mentioned in the *Revelations* of St. John.



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THE  
THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The EXTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

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CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the prosperous events that happened  
to the church during this century.*

I. **T**HOUGH the successors of Gengis-Kan, the mighty emperor of the Tartars, or rather of the Moguls, had carried their victorious arms through a great part of Asia, and having reduced China, India, and Persia, under their yoke, involved in many calamities the Christian assemblies which were established there; yet the Nestorians continued to have a flourishing church, and a great number of adherents. The emperors of the Tartars and Moguls had no great aversion to the Christian religion; nay, several kings and grandees of these nations had either been instructed in the doctrines of the gospel by their ancestors, or were converted to Christianity by the ministry and exhortations of the Nestorians. But the religion of Mahomet,

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so adapted to the passions of men, infected, by degrees, these noble converts, and, in process of time, triumphed over Christianity so far, that not the least remains of it were to be perceived in the courts of these princes.

II. The Tartars having made an incursion into Europe in the year 1241, and having laid waste, with the most savage barbarity, Hungary, Poland, Silesia, and the adjacent countries, the Roman pontiffs thought it incumbent upon them to endeavour to calm their fury. For this purpose, Innocent IV. sent an embassy to the Tartars. In the year 1274, Abaka, the emperor of that fierce nation, sent ambassadors to the council of Lyons, which was held under the pontificate of Gregory X. About four years after this, pope Nicolas III. paid the same compliment to Coblai, emperor of the whole Tartar nation, to whom he sent a solemn embassy, with a view to render that prince propitious to the Christian cause. The last expedition of this kind that we shall mention at present, was that of Johannes à Monte Corvino, who was sent to the same emperor by Nicolas IV. and who carried letters to the Nestorians from that zealous pontiff. This mission was far from being useless, since these ambassadors converted many of the Tartars to Christianity, and erected churches in different parts of Tartary and China. In order to accelerate the propagation of the gospel, Johannes à Monte Corvino translated the *New Testament* and the *Psalms of David* into the language of the Tartars.

III. The Roman pontiffs employed their most zealous efforts in support of the Christian cause in Palestine, which was now in a desperate state. They had learnt by experience, how much

these Asiatic wars had contributed to fill their coffers; and therefore they had nothing more at heart than the renewal and prolongation of these sacred expeditions. Innocent III. therefore, founded the charge; but the greatest part of the European princes and nations were deaf to it. At length, however, a certain number of French nobles entered into an alliance with the republic of Venice, and set sail for the east. But the event of this new expedition was by no means answerable to expectation. The French and Venetians, instead of steering their course towards Palestine, sailed directly for Constantinople, and, in the year 1203, took that city by storm, with a design to restore to the throne Isaac Angelus, who implored their succour against the violence of his brother Alexius. The year following a sedition was raised at Constantinople, in which the emperor Isaac was put to death, and his son, the young Alexius, was strangled by Alexius Ducas, the ringleader of this furious faction. The account of this parricide no sooner came to the ears of the chiefs of the crusade, than they made themselves masters of Constantinople for the second time, dethroned and drove from the city the tyrant Ducas, and elected Baldwin, count of Flanders, emperor of the Greeks. This proceeding was a source of new divisions; for about two years after this the Greeks resolved to set up, in opposition to this Latin emperor, one of their own nation, and elected for that purpose Theodore Lascaris, who chose Nice in Bithynia for the place of his imperial residence. From this period until the year 1261, two emperors reigned over the Greeks; the one of their own nation, who resided at Nice; and the



the other of French extraction, who lived at Constantinople. But in the year 1261, the face of things was changed by the Grecian emperor, Michael Palæologus, who, by the valour of his general, Cæsar Alexius, became master of Constantinople, and forced the Latin emperor, Baldwin II. to abandon that city, and save himself by flight. Thus fell the empire of the Franks at Constantinople, after a duration of fifty-seven years.

IV. Another sacred expedition was undertaken in the year 1217, under the pontificate of Honorius III. by the confederate arms of Italy and Germany. The allied army was commanded in chief by Andrew, king of Hungary, who was joined by Leopold, duke of Austria, Lewis of Bavaria, and several other princes. After a few months absence, Andrew returned into Europe. The remaining chiefs carried on the war with vigour, and, in the year 1220, made themselves masters of Damietta, the strongest city in Egypt; but their prosperity was of a short duration, for the year following their fleet was totally ruined by the Saracens, their provisions cut off, and their army reduced to the greatest difficulties. This irreparable loss was followed by that of Damietta, which blasted all their hopes.

V. The missionaries of the court of Rome still continued to animate the languishing zeal of the European princes, and to revive the spirit of crusading, which so many calamities had almost totally extinguished. At length, a new army was raised, and a new expedition undertaken, which excited great expectations; and so much the more, as this army was to be commanded by the emperor Frederic II. That

prince had, indeed, obliged himself by a solemn promise made to the Roman pontiff, to take upon him the direction of this expedition; and what added a new degree of force to this engagement, was the marriage that Frederic had contracted, in the year 1223, with Jolanda, daughter of John, count of Brienne, and king of Jerusalem, by which alliance that kingdom was to be added to his European dominions. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the emperor put off his voyage from time to time under various pretexts, and did not set out until the year 1228, when he followed with a small train of attendants the troops, who expected, with impatience, his arrival in Palestine. No sooner did he land, than, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, he turned all his thoughts towards peace, and, without consulting the other princes, concluded, in the year 1229, a treaty of peace with Melic-camel, sultan of Egypt. The principal thing stipulated in this treaty was, that Frederic should be put in possession of the city and kingdom of Jerusalem: this condition was immediately executed; and the emperor, entering into the city with great pomp, and accompanied by a numerous train, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands; and, having thus settled matters in Palestine, he returned without delay into Italy, to appease the commotions which the ambitious pontiff had excited there in his absence.

VI. The expeditions that followed this were less important and also less successful. In the year 1239, Theobald VI. count of Champagne and king of Navarre, set out from Marseilles for the Holy Land, accompanied by several French and German princes, as did also, the year following,

lowing, Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. king of England. The issue of these two expeditions was by no means answerable to the preparations which were made. The former failed through the influence of the emperor's ambassadors in Palestine, who renewed the truce with the Mahometans; while, on the other hand, a considerable body of Christians were defeated at Gaza, and such as escaped the carnage returned into Europe. This fatal event was principally owing to the discords that reigned between the templars and the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Hence it came to pass, that the arrival of Richard, which had been industriously retarded by Gregory IX. and which had revived, in some degree, the hopes of the vanquished, was ineffectual to repair their loss; and all that this prince could do, was to enter into a truce upon as good conditions as the declining state of their affairs would admit of. This truce was accordingly concluded with the sultan of Egypt in the year 1241, after which Richard immediately set sail for Europe.

VII. The affairs of the Christians in the east declined from day to day. Intestine discords and ill-conducted expeditions had reduced them to the last extremity, when Lewis IX. king of France, who was canonized after his death, and is still worshipped with the utmost devotion, attempted their restoration. It was in consequence of a vow, which this prince had made in the year 1248, when he was seized with a dangerous illness, that he undertook this task. He accordingly set sail for Egypt with a formidable army and a numerous fleet. The first attempts of the monarch were crowned with victory; for Damietta yielded to his arms; but the



the smiling prospect was soon changed. The united horrors of famine and pestilence overwhelmed the royal army, whose provisions were cut off by the Mahometans, in the year 1150; Robert, earl of Artois, the king's own brother, having surpris'd the Saracen army, and, through an excess of valour, pursued them too far, was slain in the engagement; and, a few days after, the king himself, with two more of his brothers, and the greatest part of his army, were taken prisoners in a bloody action, after a bold and obstinate resistance. This monarch, who was endowed with true greatness of mind, was ransomed at an immense price, and after having spent about four years in Palestine, returned into France, in the year 1254, with a handful of men, the miserable remains of his formidable army.

VIII. No calamities could deject the courage of Lewis; nor did he look upon his vow as fulfilled. He therefore resolved upon a new expedition, fitted out a formidable fleet with which he set sail for Africa, accompanied by a splendid train of princes and nobles, and propos'd to begin in that part of the world his operations against the infidels, that he might either convert them to the Christian faith, or draw from their treasures the means of carrying on more effectually the war in Asia. Immediately after his arrival upon the African coast, he made himself master of the fort of Carthage; but this first success was soon followed by a fatal change in his affairs. A pestilential disease broke out in the fleet, carried off the greatest part of the army, and seized, at length, the monarch himself, who fell a victim to its rage, on the 25th of August, in the year 1270. Lewis was the last  
of

of the European princes, that embarked in the holy war; the dangers and difficulties, and the enormous expences that accompanied each crusade, disgusted the most zealous. In consequence of this, the Latin empire in the east declined apace; and in the year 1291, after the taking of Ptolomais, or Acra, it was entirely overthrown. It is natural to enquire into the true causes that contributed to this revolution; and these causes are evident. We must not seek for them either in the counsels or in the valour of the infidels, but in the dissensions that reigned in the Christian armies, in the profligate lives of those, who called themselves the champions of the cross, and in the ignorance and obstinacy, the avarice and insolence of the pope's legates.

IX. Christianity as yet had not tamed the ferocity, nor conquered the Pagan superstitions, that still prevailed in some of the western provinces. Among others, the Prussians, a fierce and savage nation, retained still the idolatrous worship of their ancestors; nor did the arguments and exhortations employed by the missionaries that were sent among them, produce the least effect upon their spirits. The firmness of these Pagans induced Conrad, duke of Massovia, to have recourse to more forcible methods. For this purpose, he addressed himself, in the year 1230, to the knights of the Teutonic order, who, after their expulsion from Palestine, had settled at Venice, and engaged them to undertake the conquest and conversion of the Prussians. The knights arrived in Prussia, under the command of Herman de Saltza, and, after a most cruel and obstinate war, of fifty years standing, with that resolute people, obliged them

them to acknowledge the Teutonic order for their sovereigns, and to embrace the Christian faith. After having established Christianity, and fixed their own dominion in Prussia, these booted apostles made several excursions into the neighbouring countries, and particularly into Lithuania, where they pillaged, burned, massacred, and ruined all before them, until they forced the inhabitants of that miserable province to profess a submission to the gospel, or rather to the furious and unrelenting missionaries, by whom it was propagated in a manner so contrary to its divine maxims.

X. In Spain the cause of the gospel gained ground from day to day. The kings of Castile, Leon, Navarre, and Arragon, waged perpetual war with the Saracen princes, who held still under their dominion the kingdoms of Valentia, Granada, and Murcia, together with the province of Andalusia; and this war was carried on with such success, that the Saracen dominion declined apace. The princes that contributed principally to this revolution, were Ferdinand, king of Leon and Castile, his father Alphonfus IX. king of Leon, and James I. king of Arragon. The latter, more especially, distinguished himself eminently; for no sooner had he made himself master of Valentia in the year 1236, than he employed every possible method of converting his Arabian subjects, whose expulsion would have been an irreparable loss to his kingdom. For this purpose he ordered the Dominicans, whose ministry he made use of principally, to learn the Arabic tongue; and he founded public schools at Majorca and Barcelona, in which a considerable number of youth were educated in a manner that might enable them to preach the



the gospel in that language. When these pious efforts were found to be ineffectual, the Roman pontiff Clement IV. exhorted the king to drive the Mahometans out of Spain. The obsequious prince followed the counsel; in the execution of which, however, he met with much difficulty, both from the opposition which the Spanish nobles made to it on the one hand, and from the obstinacy of the Moors on the other.

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## C H A P. II.

*Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.*

I. **T**HE accounts we have already given of the conquests of the Tartars, and of the unhappy issue of the crusades, will be sufficient to give us a lively idea of the melancholy condition to which the Christians were reduced in Asia: and had the Saracens been infected with the same odious spirit of persecution that possessed the crusaders, there would not perhaps have remained a single Christian in that part of the world. After the destruction of the kingdom of Jerusalem, many of the Latins remained still in Syria, and retiring into the dark and solitary recesses of mount Libanus, lived there in a savage manner, and lost, by degrees, all sense both of religion and humanity, as appears in the conduct of their descendants, who still inhabit the same uncultivated wilds, and who seem entirely destitute of all knowledge of God and religion.

II. The Latin writers of this age complain in many places of the growth of infidelity, and of  
daring

daring writers, some of whom attacked publicly the doctrines of Christianity, while others went so far as to call in question the perfections and government of the Supreme Being. Persons of this character, when they fixed their attention upon that absurd system of religion, which the Roman pontiffs and their dependents exhibited, and maintained by the odious influence of bloody persecution, were, for want of the means of being better instructed, unhappily led to consider the Christian religion as a fable, invented and propagated by a greedy and ambitious priesthood, in order to fill their coffers.

## P A R T II.

## The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

## C H A P T E R I.

*Concerning the state of learning and philosophy during this century.*

I. **T**HE Greeks, amidst the dreadful calamities, discords, and revolutions, that distracted their unhappy country, had neither that spirit, nor that leisure, that are necessary to the culture of the arts and sciences. Yet, under all these disadvantages, they did not entirely abandon the cause of learning and philosophy, as appears by the writers that arose among them during this century. Their best historians were Nicetas, Georgius Acropolita, Gregorius Pachymeres, and Joel, whose *Chronology* is yet extant. The principal Syrian writer, which this century produced, was Gregory Abul Farai, primate of the Jacobites, a man of true genius and universal learning, who was a judicious divine, an eminent historian, and a good philosopher. George Elmacin, who composed the history of the Saracens, was also a writer of no mean reputation.

II. The sciences carried a fairer aspect in the western world, where every branch of erudition was cultivated. The European princes had learned, by happy experience, how much the advancement of learning contributes to the happiness of a nation; and therefore they invited learned men from all parts of the world,



nourished the arts in their bosom, and excited the youth to the love of letters by crowning their progress with noble rewards. Among these patrons and protectors of learning the emperor Frederic II. and Alphonfus X. king of Leon and Castile, two princes as much distinguished by their own learning, as by the encouragement they granted to men of genius, acquired the highest renown. The former founded the academy of Naples, assembled about his person all the learned men, whom he could engage by his munificence to repair to his court, and gave many other proofs of his zeal for the advancement of the arts and sciences. The latter obtained renown by several learned productions, but more especially by his famous *Astronomical Tables*. In consequence of the protection that was given to the sciences, academies were erected almost in every city, peculiar privileges of various kinds were also granted to the youth that frequented them, and these learned societies acquired, at length, the form of political bodies; that is, they were invested with a certain jurisdiction, and were governed by their own laws and statutes.

III. In the public schools or academies that were founded at Padua, Modena, Naples, Capua, Tholouse, Salamancha, Lions, and Cologn, the whole circle of the sciences was not taught, as in our times. The application of the youth, and the labours of their instructors, were limited to certain branches of learning, and thus the course of academical education remained imperfect. The academy of Paris, which surpassed all the rest both with respect to the number and abilities of its professors, and the multitude of students by whom it was frequented, was the first learned society

society which extended the sphere of education, received all the sciences into its bosom, and appointed masters for every branch of erudition. Hence it was distinguished, before any other academy, with the title of an University, to denote its embracing the whole circle of science; and, in process of time, other schools of learning were ambitious of forming themselves upon the same model, and of being honoured with the same title. The head of the *university*, whose inspection and jurisdiction extended to all branches of that learned body, was dignified with the name of *chancellor*, and that high and honourable place was filled by the bishop of Paris, to whom an assistant was afterwards joined, who shared the administration with him, and was clothed with an extensive authority. The college set apart for the study of divinity was first erected and endowed, in the year 1250, by an opulent man, whose name was Robert de Sorbonne, which name was adopted, and is still retained, by that theological society.

IV. These public institutions, consecrated to the advancement of learning, were attended with remarkable success; but that branch of erudition, which we call humanity, or polite literature, derived less advantage from them, than the other sciences. Yet, the thirteenth century produced several writers, who were very far from being contemptible, such as Guil. Brito, Alain de l'Isle, Guntherus, Jacobus de Viuriaco, and several others, who wrote with ease, and were not altogether destitute of elegance. Among the historians the first place is due to Matthew Paris, a writer of the highest merit both in point of knowledge and prudence.

V. Roger Bacon, John Balbi, and Robert Capito, with some other learned men, whose number was but inconsiderable, applied themselves to the study of Greek literature. That illustrious Franciscan, Roger Bacon, was in point of genius and universal learning, one of the greatest ornaments of the British nation, and in general of the republic of letters. The astonishing discoveries he made in astronomy, chemistry, optics, and mathematics, made him pass for a magician in the ignorant and superstitious times in which he lived, while his profound knowledge in philosophy, theology, and the Greek and Oriental languages, procured him, with more justice, the title of the *admirable*, or *wonderful doctor*. Among other discoveries, he is said to have made that of the composition and force of gun-powder, which he describes clearly in one of his letters; and he proposed much the same correction of the Kalendar, which was executed about three hundred years after by Gregory XIII. He composed a prodigious number of books.

The Hebrew language and theology were much less cultivated than the Greek; though it appears that Bacon and Capito were extremely well versed in it. Many of the Spaniards, and more particularly the Dominican friars, made themselves masters of the Arabian learning and language, as the kings of Spain had charged the latter with the instruction and conversion of the Jews and Saracens who resided in their dominions. As to the Latin grammarians, the best of them were extremely barbarous and insipid, and equally destitute of taste and knowledge.



VI. The various systems of philosophy that were in vogue before this century, lost their credit by degrees, and submitted to the triumphant doctrine of Aristotle, which erected a new and despotic empire in the republic of letters. Several of the works of this philosopher, and more especially his metaphysical productions, had been so early as the beginning of this century translated into Latin at Paris, and were from that time explained to the youth in the public schools. But when it appeared, that Almeric had drawn from these books his erroneous sentiments concerning the divine nature, they were prohibited and condemned as pernicious and pestilential by a public decree of the council of Sens, in the year 1209. The logic of Aristotle, however, recovered its credit some years after this, and was publicly taught in the university of Paris in the year 1215; but the natural philosophy and metaphysic of that great man were still under the sentence of condemnation. It was reserved for the emperor Frederic II. to restore the Stagirite to his former glory, which this prince effected by employing a number of learned men, whom he had chosen with the greatest attention and care, and who were profoundly versed in the knowledge of the languages, to translate into Latin, from the Greek and Arabic, certain books of Aristotle, and of other ancient sages. This translation, which was recommended, in a particular manner, to the academy of Bologna by the learned emperor, raised the credit of Aristotle to the greatest height, and gave him an irresistible authority in all the European schools.

VII. The Aristotelian philosophy received the last addition that could be made to its

authority, when the Dominican and Franciscan friars adopted its tenets, taught it in their schools, and illustrated it in their writings. These two mendicant orders were looked upon as the chief depositories of all learning both human and divine; and were followed, with the utmost eagerness, by all such as were ambitious of being distinguished by their superior knowledge. Alexander Hales, an English Franciscan, who taught philosophy at Paris, and acquired, by the strength of his genius, the title of the *Irrefragable Doctor*, and Albert the Great, a German, of the Dominican order, and bishop of Ratisbon, a man of vast abilities and an universal dictator at this time, were the two first eminent writers who illustrated the Aristotelian system. But it was the disciple of Albert, Thomas Aquinas, the *Angelic Doctor*, and the great luminary of the scholastic world, that contributed most to the glory of the Stagirite, by inculcating, illustrating, and enforcing his doctrines, both in his lectures and in his writings; and principally, by engaging one of his learned colleagues to give, under his inspection, a new translation of the works of the Grecian sage, which far surpassed the former version in exactness, perspicuity, and elegance.

VIII. There were, however, at this time in Europe several persons of superior genius, who, notwithstanding their veneration for Aristotle, thought the method of treating philosophy, which his writings had introduced, dry and inelegant. At the head of these noble adventurers we may justly place Roger Bacon, whom we mentioned above, renowned on account of his most important discoveries, and who, in the progress he had made in natural philosophy,

philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, the mechanic arts, and the learned languages, soared far beyond the genius of the times. With him we may associate Arnold of Villa Nova, whose place of nativity is fixed by some in France, by others in Spain, and who acquired a shining reputation by his knowledge in chemistry, poetry, philosophy, languages, and physic; as also Petrus de Abano, a physician of Padua, who was surnamed the *Reconciler*, from a book he wrote with a design to terminate the dissensions that reigned among the philosophers and physicians, and who was profoundly versed in philosophy, astronomy, physic, and mathematics. It must, however, be observed, to the eternal dishonour of the age, that the only fruits which these great men enjoyed of their learned labours, were the furious clamours of an enraged and superstitious multitude, who looked upon them as heretics and magicians, and thirsted so eagerly after their blood, that they escaped with difficulty the hands of the public executioner. Bacon was confined many years to a loathsome prison; and the other two were, after their death, brought before the tribunal of the inquisition, and declared worthy of being committed to the flames for the novelties they had introduced into the republic of letters.



## C H A P. II.

*Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government, during this century.*

I. **B**OOTH the Greek and Latin writers, provoked, beyond measure, by the flagitious lives of their spiritual rulers, complain loudly of their licentious manners; nor will these complaints appear excessive to such as are acquainted with the history of this corrupt and superstitious age. Several eminent men attempted to stem this torrent of licentiousness, which from the heads of the church had carried its streams through all the members; but their power and influence were unequal to such a difficult enterprize. The Grecian emperors were prevented from executing any project of this kind by the various calamities, that not only reigned in their dominions, but even shook the throne on which they sat; while the power and opulence of the Roman pontiffs and the superstition of the age hindered the Latins from accomplishing, or even attempting, a reformation in the church.

II. The history of the popes presents a lively and horrible picture of the complicated crimes that dishonoured the ministers of the church. Such of the Sacerdotal order, as were advanced to places of authority in the church, behaved rather like tyrants than rulers, and shewed manifestly, in all their conduct, that they aimed at an absolute dominion. The popes, more especially, inculcated that pernicious maxim, "That the bishop of Rome is the supreme lord of the universe, and that neither princes nor bishops, civil governors, nor ecclesiastical rulers, have any lawful power

power in church or state but what they derive from him." This extravagant maxim the Roman pontiffs maintained obstinately, and left no means unemployed, that perfidy or violence could suggest, to give it the force of an universal law. It was in consequence of this, that they not only claimed the right of disposing of ecclesiastical *benefices*, as they are commonly called, but also of conferring civil dominion, and of dethroning kings and emperors, according to their good pleasure. It is true, this maxim was far from being universally adopted; many placed the authority of councils above that of the pontiffs, and such of the European princes as were not ingloriously blinded, asserted their rights with dignity and success, excluded the pontiffs from all concern in their civil transactions, nay, even reserved to themselves the supremacy over the churches in their dominions.

III. In order to establish their authority both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, the Roman pontiffs assumed to themselves the power of disposing of the various offices of the church, whether of a higher or more subordinate nature, and of creating *bishops*, *abbots*, and *canons*. Thus we see the heads of the church, who formerly disputed with such ardor against the emperors in favour of the free election of bishops and abbots, overturning all the laws that related to the election of these spiritual rulers, reserving for themselves the revenues of the richest benefices, conferring vacant places upon their creatures, nay, often deposing bishops that had been duly elected, and substituting, with a high hand, others in their room. The first of the pontiffs, who usurped such an extravagant authority, was Innocent III. whose example was followed by  
Honorius

Honorius III. Gregory IX. and several of their successors. But it was keenly opposed by the bishops, who had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of nominating to the smaller benefices, and still more effectually by the kings of England and France. Lewis IX. king of France, distinguished himself by the noble opposition he made to these encroachments. In the year 1268, before he set out for the Holy Land, he secured the rights of the Gallican church against the insidious attempts of the Roman pontiffs, by that famous edict known in France by the name of the *pragmatic sanction*. This resolute measure rendered the pontiffs more cautious in their proceedings, but did not terrify them from the prosecution of their purpose. For Boniface VIII. maintained, in the most express terms, that the universal church was under the dominion of the pontiffs, and that princes and lay-patrons, councils and chapters, had no more power in spiritual things, than what they derived from Christ's vicar upon earth.

IV. The legates, whom the pontiffs sent into the provinces, to execute their orders, imitated perfectly the avarice and insolence of their masters. They violated the privileges of the chapters; disposed of the smaller, and sometimes of the more important ecclesiastical benefices, in favour of such as had gained them by bribes; extorted money from the people by the vilest and most iniquitous means; seduced the unwary by forged letters and other stratagems of that nature; excited tumults among the multitude, and were, themselves, the ring-leaders of the most furious and rebellious factions; carried on, in the most scandalous manner, the impious traffic of *relics* and *indulgences*, and distinguished



distinguished themselves by several acts of profligacy still more heinous. Hence we find the writers of this age complaining unanimously of the enormous crimes of the pope's legates. Nay, we see Alexander IV. enacting, in the year 1256, a severe law against the avarice and frauds of these corrupt ministers.

V. From the ninth century to this period, the revenues of the pontiffs had not received any considerable augmentation; but at this time they were vastly increased under Innocent III. and Nicolas III. partly by the events of war, and partly by the munificence of kings and emperors. Innocent was no sooner seated in the papal chair, than he reduced under his jurisdiction the prefect of Rome, who had hitherto been considered as subject to the emperor, to whom he had taken an oath of allegiance in entering upon his office. He also seized upon Ancona, Spoleto, Assisi, and several cities and fortresses which had, according to him, been unjustly alienated from the patrimony of St. Peter. On the other hand, Frederic II. who was extremely desirous that the pope should espouse his quarrel with Otho IV. loaded the Roman see with the richest marks of his munificence, and not only made a noble present in valuable lands to the pope's brother, but also permitted Richard count of Fundi to leave, by will, all his possessions to the Roman see, and confirmed the immense donation that had formerly been made to it by the opulent Matilda. Such was the progress that Innocent III. made, during his pontificate, in augmenting the splendor and wealth of the church. Nicolas IV. followed his example with the warmest emulation, and, in the year 1278, gave a remarkable  
proof

proof of his arrogance, in refusing to crown the emperor Rodolphus I. before he had acknowledged and confirmed, by a solemn treaty, all the pretensions of the Roman see, of which, if some were plausible, the greatest part were altogether groundless. This agreement, to which all the Italian princes, that were subject to the emperor, were obliged to accede, was no sooner concluded, than Nicolas reduced under his temporal dominion several cities and territories in Italy, that had formerly been annexed to the imperial crown, particularly Romania and Bologna. It was therefore under these two pontiffs, that the see of Rome arrived, partly by force, and partly by artifice, at that high degree of grandeur and opulence.

VI. Innocent III. who remained at the head of the church until the year 1216, followed the steps of Gregory VII. and not only usurped the despotic government of the church, but also claimed the empire of the world. He was a man of learning and application; but his cruelty, avarice, and arrogance, clouded the lustre of his good qualities. In Asia and Europe, he disposed of crowns and sceptres with the most wanton ambition. In Asia, he gave a king to the Armenians: in Europe, he usurped the same extravagant privilege in the year 1204, and conferred the regal dignity upon Primislaus, duke of Bohemia. The same year he sent to Johannicius, duke of Bulgaria and Walachia, an extraordinary legate, who, in the name of the pontiff, invested that prince with the ensigns and honours of royalty, while, with his own hand, he crowned Peter II. of Arragon, who had rendered his dominions subject to the church, and

and saluted him publicly at Rome with the title of King.

VII. The ambition of this pope was not satisfied with the distribution and government of these petty kingdoms. He extended his views farther, and resolved to render the power of the Roman see formidable to the greatest European monarchs. When the empire of Germany was disputed between Philip, duke of Swabia, and Otho IV. third son of Henry Lion, he espoused, at first, the cause of Otho, thundered out his excommunications against Philip, and, upon the death of the latter, which happened in the year 1209, placed the imperial diadem upon the head of his adversary. But as Otho was by no means disposed to submit to this pontiff's nod, he incurred, of consequence, his indignation; and Innocent, declaring him, by a solemn excommunication, unworthy of the empire, raised in his place Frederic II. his pupil, the son of Henry VI. and king of the two Sicilies, to the imperial throne in the year 1212. The same pontiff excommunicated Philip Augustus, king of France, for having dissolved his marriage with Ingerburg, a princess of Denmark, and espoused another in her place; nor did he cease to pursue this monarch with his anathemas, until he engaged him to receive the divorced queen, and to restore her to her lost dignity.

VIII. But of all the European princes none felt, in so severe a manner, the fury of this insolent pontiff as John, king of England. This prince opposed vigorously the measures of Innocent, who had ordered the monks of Canterbury to chuse Stephen Langton, a Roman cardinal, archbishop of that see, notwithstanding the election of John de Grey to that high dignity,



which had been regularly made by the convent, and confirmed by royal authority. The pope, after having consecrated Langton at Viterbo, wrote a soothing letter in his favour to the king, accompanied with four rings. But this present was not sufficient to avert the just indignation of the monarch, who sent a body of troops to drive out of the kingdom the monks of Canterbury, who had been engaged by the pope's menaces to receive Langton as their archbishop. The king also declared to the pontiff, that, if he persisted in imposing a prelate upon the see of Canterbury, in opposition to a regular election already made, the consequences of such presumptuous obstinacy would prove fatal to the papal authority in England. Innocent was so far from being terrified by this remonstrance, that, in the year 1208, he sent orders to the bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely, to lay the kingdom under an *interdict*, in case the monarch refused to yield and to receive Langton. John, alarmed at this terrible menace, and unwilling to break entirely with the pope, declared his readiness to confirm the election made at Rome; but, in the act that was drawn up for this purpose, he wisely threw in a clause to prevent any interpretation of this compliance, that might be prejudicial to his rights, dignity, and prerogative. This exception was rejected, and the *interdict* was proclaimed. A stop was immediately put to divine service; the churches were shut; the administration of the sacraments was suspended except that of baptism; the dead were buried in the highways without any funeral solemnity. But, notwithstanding this *interdict*, the Cistercian order continued to perform divine service, and several learned and respect-

able divines, among which were the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, protested against the pope's proceedings.

The interdict not producing the effects that were expected, the pontiff proceeded still farther, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the English monarch. This sentence, which was issued out in the year 1208, was followed about three years after by a bull, absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him, on pain of excommunication. But it was in the year 1212, that Innocent carried his tyranny to the most enormous length, when, assembling a council of prelates, he deposed John, declared the throne of England vacant, and wrote to Philip Augustus, king of France, to execute this sentence, to undertake the conquest of England, and to unite that kingdom to his dominions for ever. He, at the same time, published another bull, exhorting all Christian princes to contribute, whatever was in their power, to the success of this expedition, promising such, as seconded Philip, the same indulgences that were granted to those who carried arms against the infidels in Palestine. The French monarch entered into the views of the pontiff, and made immense preparations for the invasion of England. The king of England, on the other hand, assembled his forces, and was putting himself in a posture of defence, when Pandulf, the pope's legate, arrived at Dover, and proposed a conference in order to prevent the approaching rupture. This artful legate terrified the king, who met him at that place, with an exaggerated account of the armament of Philip; and persuaded him that there was

no possible way left of saving his dominions, but that of putting them under the protection of the Roman see. John, finding himself in such a perplexing situation, complied with this dishonourable proposal, did homage to Innocent, resigned his crown to the legate, and received it again as a present from the see of Rome, to which he rendered his kingdoms tributary. He obliged himself and his heirs to pay an annual sum of seven hundred marks for England, and three hundred for Ireland, in acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy.

IX. Innocent III. was succeeded by Honorius III. whose government, though not signalized by such audacious exploits as those of his predecessor, discovered, nevertheless, an ardent zeal for supporting the despotism of the Roman see. It was in consequence of this zeal, that the new pontiff opposed the measures, and drew upon him the indignation of Frederic II. that magnanimous prince, on whose head he himself had placed, in the year 1220, the imperial crown. This spirited prince, following the steps of his illustrious grandfather, had formed the resolution of confirming the authority of the emperors in Italy, and reducing to narrower limits the immense opulence of the pontiffs and bishops; and it was with a view to these grand projects, that he deferred the fulfilling of the solemn vow, by which he had engaged himself to march a formidable army against the infidels in Palestine. The pontiff, on the other hand, urged, with importunity, the emperor's departure, and resisted his power by all the obstacles which the most fertile invention could suggest. These contests, however, had not, as yet, brought on an open rupture.

X. In



X. In the year 1227, Hugolinus, bishop of Ostia, whose advanced age had not extinguished the fire of his ambition, nor diminished the obstinacy of his spirit, was raised to the pontificate, assumed the title of Gregory IX. and kindled the dissensions, that had already secretly subsisted between the church and the empire, into an open flame. No sooner was he placed in the papal chair, than, contrary to all justice and order, he excommunicated the emperor for putting off his expedition against the Saracens another year, though that delay was manifestly owing to a fit of sickness, which seized that prince when he was ready to embark. In the year 1228, Frederic at last set out and arrived in the Holy Land; but instead of carrying on the war with vigour, he entered into a truce with Saladin, and contented himself with the recovery of Jerusalem. The pope made war upon the emperor in Apulia during his absence, and used his utmost efforts to arm against him all the European powers. Frederic, having received information of these proceedings, returned into Europe in the year 1229, defeated the papal army, retook the places he had lost in Sicily and Italy, and the year following made his peace with the pontiff from whom he received a public and solemn absolution. This peace, however, was but of a short duration; nor was it possible for the emperor to bear the insolent proceedings of Gregory. He therefore broke all measures with that headstrong pontiff, distressed the states of Lombardy that were in alliance with him, seized upon the island of Sardinia, which Gregory looked upon as a part of his patrimony, and erected it into a kingdom for his son Entius. These steps drew the thunder of the Vatican anew upon

*7th. 3.* the emperor's head in the year 1239. Frederic was excommunicated publicly with all the circumstances of severity that vindictive rage could invent, and was charged with the most flagitious crimes by the pontiff. The emperor, on the other hand, defended his injured reputation by solemn declarations in writing, while, by his victorious arms, he avenged himself of his adversaries, and reduced the pontiff to the greatest straits. To get rid of these difficulties, the latter convened, in the year 1240, a general council at Rome, with a view to depose Frederic. But the emperor disconcerted that project by defeating, in the year 1241, a Genoese fleet, on board of which the greatest part of these prelates were embarked, and by seizing, with all their treasures, these reverend fathers, who were all committed to close confinement. This disappointment, attended with others which blasted his most promising expectations, dejected the despairing pontiff, and contributed probably to the conclusion of his days, which happened soon after this remarkable event.

XI. Geoffry, bishop of Milan, who succeeded Gregory IX. under the title of Celestine IV. died before his consecration, and, after a vacancy of twenty months, Sinibald was raised to the pontificate in the year 1243, assumed the denomination of Innocent IV. and yielded to none of his predecessors in arrogance and fury. His elevation, however, offered at first a prospect of peace, as he had formerly been attached to the interests of the emperor, and accordingly the conferences were opened, and a reconciliation was proposed; but the terms offered by the new pope were too imperious and extravagant, not to be rejected with indignation by the  
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the emperor. Hence it was that Innocent, not thinking himself safe in Italy, set out from Genoa, the place of his birth, for Lyons in the year 1244, and, assembling there a council the following year, deposed the emperor Frederic, and declared the imperial throne vacant. This insolent measure was looked upon as so weighty by the German princes, blinded by the superstition of the times, that they proceeded instantly to a new election, and raised first, Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, and, after his death, William, count of Holland, to the head of the empire. Frederic, whose firm and heroic spirit supported without dejection these cruel vicissitudes, continued to carry on the war in Italy, until a violent dysentery ended his days in Apulia, the 13th of December, 1250. Upon the death of his formidable adversary, Innocent returned into Italy, hoping now to enjoy with security the fruits of his ambition. It was principally from this period, that the two famous factions, called Guelphs and Ghibelines, of which the latter espoused the cause of the emperors, and the former that of the pontiffs, involved all the Italian states in the most fatal dissensions.

XII. To Innocent, in the year 1254, succeeded Alexander IV. During the six years and six months that he governed the see of Rome, his time was less employed in civil affairs, than in regulating the internal state of the church. The mendicant friars, in particular, and among them the Dominicans and Franciscans, were much favoured by this pontiff, and received several marks of his peculiar bounty.

He was succeeded in the Roman see. A. D. 1261, by Urban IV. This pontiff had formed several



several important projects, but their execution was prevented by his death, which happened in the year 1264, after a reign of three years. His successor Clement IV. a native of France, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1265, did not enjoy much longer that high dignity. His name, however, was rendered famous by his conferring the kingdom of Naples upon Charles of Anjou, brother to Lewis IX. king of France. The consequences of this donation are well known, and the fate of Conradin, the last descendant of Frederic II. who, after an unfortunate battle fought against Charles, was publicly beheaded by the barbarous victor, if not by the counsel, yet certainly with the consent, of the Roman pontiff.

XIII. Upon the death of Clement IV. there arose warm contests among the cardinals concerning the election of a new pontiff. These debates, which kept the Roman see vacant during three years, were at length terminated in favour of Thibald, archbishop of Liege, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1271, and assumed the title of Gregory X. This devout ecclesiastic was in the Holy Land when he received the news of his election; and, as he had been an eye-witness of the miserable condition of the Christians in that country, he had nothing so much at heart, as the contributing to their relief. Hence it was, that, immediately after his consecration, he summoned a council to meet at Lyons, in the year 1274, in which the relief of the Christians in Palestine, and the re-union of the Greek and Latin churches, were the two great points, that were to come under deliberation. This assembly is acknowledged as the fourteenth general council, and

is rendered remarkable by the new regulations introduced into the manner of electing the Roman pontiff, and more especially, by the famous law, by which it was enacted, that the cardinal-electors should be shut up in the conclave during the vacancy of the pontificate. With respect to the character of the new pope, though he seemed to be actuated by a milder spirit than many of his predecessors, yet he inculcated, without the least hesitation, that odious maxim of Gregory VII. that declared the bishop of Rome the lord of the world, and, in a more especial manner, of the Roman empire. It was in consequence of this, that, in the year 1271, he wrote an imperious letter to the German princes, in which, deaf to the remonstrances of Alphonfus, king of Castile, he ordered them to elect an emperor without delay, assuring them, that, if they did not do it immediately, he would do it for them. This letter produced the designed effect; an electoral diet was assembled at Francfort, and Rodolphus, count of Hapsburg, was raised to the imperial throne.

XIV. Gregory X. was succeeded, in the year 1276, by Peter, bishop of Ostia, who assumed the name of Innocent V. and died about five months after his election. Ottoboni, a native of Genoa, and cardinal of St. Adrian, was chosen in his place, took the title of Adrian V. and, after having ruled the church during five weeks, was succeeded by Peter Julian, who enjoyed that high dignity about eight months by the name of John XXI. The see of Rome continued vacant for above six months after his death, but was at length filled in the month of November, 1277, by John Cajetan, cardinal of St. Nicolas, whose name he adopted for the  
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papal title. This famous pontiff, augmented greatly both the opulence and authority of the bishops of Rome, and had formed vast projects, which his undaunted courage would probably have enabled him to execute, had not death blasted his hopes.

XV. He was succeeded in the year 1281, about six months after his departure from this life, by Martin IV. who was not inferior to Nicolas III. in ambition, arrogance, and constancy of mind. Michael Palæologus, the Grecian emperor, was one of the first princes, who was solemnly excommunicated by this audacious priest, under the pretext of his having broken the peace between the Greek and Latin churches. The same insult was committed against Peter, king of Arragon, whom Martin not only excluded from the bosom of the church, but also deposed from his throne, on account of his attempt upon Sicily, and made a grant of his kingdom and possessions to Charles, son of Philip the Bold, king of France. It was during the execution of such daring enterprizes as these, and while he was meditating still greater things, that a sudden death, in the year 1285, obliged him to leave his schemes unfinished. They were, however, prosecuted with great spirit by his successor, Honorius IV. but he also was short, in the midst of his career, in the year 1287, having ruled the church only two years. Nicolas IV. distinguished himself during the four years that he remained in the pontificate, by his assiduous application both to ecclesiastical and political affairs. Sometimes we see the disputes of sovereign powers left to his arbitration; at other times, we find him maintaining the pretensions of the church with the most resolute  
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zeal; at other times, again, we see him employing, with the utmost assiduity, every probable method of propagating the gospel among the Tartars and other eastern nations. But the object which, of all others, occupied most the thoughts of this zealous pontiff, was the desperate state of the Christians in Palestine. His laborious efforts were therefore employed for the restoration of their former grandeur; but they were employed in vain, and his death, which happened in the year 1292, disconcerted all the projects he had formed.

XVI. The death of this pontiff was followed by a vacancy of three years, which was owing to the disputes that arose among the cardinals. These disputes were at length terminated in favour of Peter, surnamed Di Murrone, from a mountain where he had lived in the deepest solitude and with the utmost austerity. This venerable old man, who was in high renown on account of the remarkable sanctity of his life and conversation, was raised to the pontificate in the year 1294, and assumed the name of Celestine V. But the austerity of his manners, which was a tacit reproach upon the corruption of the Roman court, and more especially upon the luxury of the cardinals, rendered him extremely disagreeable to a licentious clergy; and this dislike was so heightened by the whole course of his administration (which shewed that he had more at heart the reformation and purity of the church, than the increase of its opulence and authority) that he was almost universally considered as unworthy of the pontificate. Hence it was, that several of the cardinals, and particularly Benedict Cajetan, advised him to abdicate the papacy, which he had accepted with such

such reluctance, and they had the pleasure of seeing their advice followed with the utmost docility. The good man resigned his dignity the fourth month after his election, and died in the year 1296, in the castle of Fumone, where his tyrannic successor kept him in captivity, that he might not attempt the recovery of his abdicated honours. His memory was precious to the virtuous part of the church.

XVII. Benedict Cajetan, who had persuaded the good pontiff to resign his place, succeeded him in it in the year 1294, and took the name of Boniface VIII. We may say, with truth, of this unworthy prelate, that he was a plague both to church and state, a disturber of the repose of nations, and that his attempts to extend the despotism of the Roman pontiffs, were carried to a length that approached to frenzy. From the moment that he entered upon his new dignity, he laid claim to a supreme dominion over all the powers of the earth, both spiritual and temporal, terrified kingdoms and empires with the thunder of his bulls, called princes and sovereign states before his tribunal to decide their quarrels, declared war against the illustrious family of Colonna; in a word, exhibited to the church, and to Europe, a lively image of the tyrannical administration of Gregory VII. whom he perhaps surpassed in arrogance. It was this pontiff, that, in the year 1300, instituted the famous jubilee, which, since that time, has been regularly celebrated in the Roman church at certain fixed periods.

XVIII. In the council of Lateran that was held in the year 1215, a decree had been passed, by the advice of Innocent III. to prevent the introduction of new religions, by which was meant,

meant, new monastic institutions. This decree however seemed to be very little respected either by that pontiff or his successors; since several religious orders, hitherto unknown in the Christian world, were not only tolerated, but were moreover distinguished by peculiar marks of favour, and enriched with various privileges.

XIX. The religious society that surpassed all the rest in the purity of its manners, the number of its privileges, and the multitude of its members, was that of the Mendicant, or begging friars, whose order was first established in this century, and who, by the tenor of their institution, were to remain entirely destitute of all fixed revenues and possessions. The monastic orders, who wallowed in opulence, were lulled in a luxurious indolence. They lost sight of all their religious obligations, and abandoned themselves, without shame, to all manner of crimes. On the other hand, the enemies of the church, who had left its communion, followed certain austere rules of life, which formed a strong contrast between them and the religious orders. All this rendered it necessary to introduce into the church a set of men, who, by the gravity and sanctity of their conduct, might resemble the doctors, who had gained such reputation to the sects; and who might be so far above the allurements of worldly profit and pleasure, as not to be seduced, by the promises or threats of princes, from the performance of the duties they owed to the church. Innocent III. was the first of the popes who perceived the necessity of such an order; and, accordingly, gave such monastic societies, as made a profession of poverty, the most distinguishing marks of his favour. They were also encouraged by the succeeding



pontiffs, when experience had demonstrated their usefulness. But when it became generally known, that they had such a peculiar place in the esteem of the rulers of the church, their number grew to such an unwieldy multitude in all the European provinces, that they became a burthen, not only to the people, but to the church itself.

XX. The great inconveniency that arose from the excessive multiplication of the mendicant orders, was remedied by Gregory X. in a general council which he assembled at Lyons in the year 1272. For here all the religious orders, that had sprung up after the council held at Rome, in the year 1215, under the pontificate of Innocent III. were suppressed, and the *extravagant multitude of mendicants*, as Gregory called them, were reduced to a smaller number, and confined to the four following societies, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Carmelites, and the Hermits of St. Augustin. The Carmelite order, which had been instituted in Palestine, during the preceding century, was, in this, transplanted into Europe, and, in the year 1226, was favoured by pope Honorius III. with a place among the monastic societies, which enjoyed the protection of the church. The Hermits of St. Augustin had for their founder Alexander IV. who, observing that the Hermits were divided into several societies, some of which followed the maxims of the famous William, others the rule of St. Augustin, while others again were distinguished by different denominations, formed the wise project of uniting them all into one religious order, and subjecting them to the same rule, which bears the name of St. Augustin. This was put in execution in the year 1256.

XXI. As the pontiffs allowed these four Mendicant orders the liberty of travelling wherever they thought proper, of conversing with persons of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the multitude wherever they went; and as these monks exhibited, in their outward appearance, more marks of gravity and holiness, than were observable in the other monastic societies; they arose all at once to the very summit of fame, and were regarded with the utmost veneration. The attachment to these sanctimonious beggars went so far, that several cities were divided into four parts, with a view to these four orders; the first part was assigned to the Dominicans; the second, to the Franciscans; the third, to the Carmelites; and the fourth, to the Augustinians. The people were unwilling to receive the sacraments from any other hands than those of the Mendicants, to whose churches they crowded to perform their devotions, while living, and were extremely desirous to deposit there also their remains, after death; all which occasioned grievous complaints among the ordinary priests, to whom the cure of souls was committed. Nor did the influence of the Mendicants end here; for, in this and the succeeding ages, they were employed not only in spiritual matters, but also in temporal and political affairs of the greatest consequence, in composing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace, concerting alliances, presiding in cabinet-councils, governing courts, levying taxes, and other occupations, not only remote from, but absolutely inconsistent with, the monastic character and profession.

XXII. We must not however imagine, that all the Mendicant friars attained to the same

degree of reputation and authority; for the power of the Dominicans and Franciscans surpassed greatly that of the other two orders, and rendered them singularly conspicuous. During three centuries, these two fraternities governed, with an almost absolute sway, both state and church, filled the most eminent posts ecclesiastical and civil, taught in the universities and churches with an authority, before which all opposition was silent, and maintained the prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs against kings, princes, bishops, and heretics, with incredible ardour. The Dominicans and Franciscans were, before the Reformation, what the Jesuits have been since, the very soul of the hierarchy, the secret springs of all the motions of it, and the authors or directors of every important event.

— Dominic, a Spaniard by birth, a native of the village of Calaroga, descendant of the illustrious house of Guzman, and regular canon of Osma, a man of a fiery temper, and vehemently exasperated by the heretics of different denominations, set out for France with a few companions, in order to combat the sectaries, who were multiplied in that kingdom. This enterprize he executed with the greatest vigour, and, we may add, fury, attacking the Albigenes and the other enemies of the church with the force of arms, the subtilty of controversial writings, and the terrors of the *inquisition*, which owed its form to this violent and sanguine priest. Passing from thence into Italy, he was honoured by the Roman pontiffs Innocent III. and Honorius III. with the most distinguished marks of favour; and obtained from them the privilege of erecting this new fraternity, whose principal design was the destruction of heretics. The first rule which he adopted



adopted for the new society was that of the *Canons of St. Augustin*. But afterwards, holding a chapter in the year 1220, he obliged the brethren to take a vow of absolute poverty, and to abandon entirely all their possessions. He died the year following at Bologna. His monks were, at first, distinguished by the denomination of *preaching friars*, because public instruction was the main end of their institution; but were afterwards called Dominicans after their founder. [Just before his death Dominic sent Gilbert de Fresney with twelve of the brethren into England, where they founded their first monastery at Oxford in the year 1221, and soon after, another at London. In the year 1276, the mayor and aldermen of the city of London gave them two whole streets by the river Thames, where they erected a very commodious convent, whence that place is still called *Black-Friars*, for so the Dominicans were called in England.]

XXIII. Francis, the founder of the famous order that bears his name, was the son of a merchant of Assisi, in the province of Umbria, and a young man who led, for some time, a most debauched and dissolute life. Upon his recovery from a severe fit of sickness, which was the consequence and punishment of his licentious conduct, he changed his method of living, and, as extremes are natural to men of warm imaginations, fell into an extravagant kind of devotion, that looked less like religion than alienation of mind. Sometime after this, he happened to be in a church, where he heard that passage of the scriptures repeated, in which Christ addresses his apostles in the following manner: *Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses,*

nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet slaves, for the workman is worthy of his meat. This produced a powerful effect upon his mind, made him consider absolute poverty as the essence of the gospel, and prescribe this poverty as a sacred rule, both to himself and to the few that followed him. Such was the commencement of the famous Franciscan order, whose founder was, undoubtedly, a well-meaning man, though grossly ignorant, and manifestly weakened in his intellect by the disorder from which he had but lately recovered. Nevertheless the new society, which appeared to Innocent III. extremely adapted to the present state of the church, was solemnly approved and confirmed by Honorius III. in the year 1223, and had already made a considerable progress when its founder was called from this life in the year 1226. Francis, through an excessive humility, would not suffer the monks of his order to be called *Fratres*, i. e. *brethren*, or *friars*, but *Fraterculi*, i. e. *little brethren*, or *friars-minors*, by which denomination they still continue to be distinguished. The Franciscans came into England in the reign of Henry III. and their first establishment was at Canterbury.

XXIV. Towards the conclusion of this century, arose in Italy the enthusiastic sect of the *Fratricelli* and *Bizochi*, which, in Germany and France received the denomination of *Beguards*. They were condemned by Boniface VIII. and by several of his successors; and the *inquisitors* were charged to persecute them until they were entirely extirpated, which commission they executed with their usual barbarity. The *Fratricelli*, or *Little Brethren*, were Franciscan monks, who separated themselves from the grand community

munity of St. Francis, with a design to observe the laws of their parent and founder in a more strict manner than they were observed by the other Franciscans; and who, accordingly, renounced every kind of possession and property both common and personal, and begged from door to door their daily subsistence. They alleged that neither Christ nor his apostles had any possessions either *personal*, or *in common*; and that *they* were the models, whom St. Francis commanded his followers to imitate. After the example also of their austere founder they went about clothed with sordid garments, declaimed against the corruption of the church of Rome, and the vices of the pontiffs and bishops. They esteemed Celestine V. because he was, in some measure, the founder of their society, by permitting them to erect themselves into a separate order. But they refused to acknowledge, as true and lawful heads of the church, his successor Boniface and the other pontiffs after him, who opposed the *Fratricelli*, and persecuted their order.

XXV. As the Franciscan order acknowledged, as its companions and associates, a set of men who observed the *third rule*, that was prescribed by St. Francis, and were from thence commonly called *Tertiaries*; so likewise the order of the *Fratricelli*, who were desirous of being considered as the only genuine followers of St. Francis, had a great number of *Tertiaries* attached to their cause. Besides two very austere rules drawn up by St. Francis, the one for the Friars-minors, and the other for the Poor Sisters, called *Clarisses*, from St. Clara their founder, this famous chief drew up a *third*, whose demands were less rigorous, for such, as, without



without abandoning their worldly affairs, or resigning their possessions, were, nevertheless, disposed to enter, with certain restrictions, into the Franciscan order, and desirous of enjoying the privileges that were annexed to it. This rule prescribed fasting, continence, hours of devotion and prayer, mean and dirty apparel, gravity of manners, and things of that nature; but neither prohibited contracting marriage, accumulating wealth, filling civil employments, nor attending to worldly affairs. These Tertiaries, or half-monks, were called, in Italy, *Bizochi* and *Bocasoti*: in France, *Beguins*, and in Germany, *Beguards*, or *Beghards*, which last was the denomination by which they were commonly known in almost all places. They differed from the Fratricelli, not in their doctrine, but only in their manner of living. The Fratricelli were real monks, subjected to the rule of St. Francis; while the Bizochi, or Beguins, if we except their sordid habit, and certain observances, lived after the manner of other men, and were therefore considered in no other light, than as *seculars* and *laymen*.

XXVI. We must not confound these Beguins, or Beguines, who derived their origin from an austere branch of the Franciscan order, with the German and Belgic Beguines, who crept out of their obscurity in this century, and multiplied prodigiously in a very short time. Their origin was of earlier date than this century, but it was only now that they acquired a name. Their primitive establishment was, undoubtedly, the effect of virtuous dispositions and upright intentions. A certain number of pious women, both virgins and widows, in order to maintain their integrity, formed themselves into societies, each

each of which had a fixed place of residence, and was under the inspection of a female head. Here they divided their time between exercises of devotion, and works of honest industry, reserving to themselves the liberty of entering into the state of matrimony, as also of quitting the convent whenever they thought proper. And as all those among the female sex, who made extraordinary professions of piety, were distinguished by the title of *Beguines*, i. e. persons who were uncommonly *assiduous in prayer*, that title was given to the women of whom we are now speaking. The first society of this kind, that we read of, was formed at Nivelles in Brabant, in the year 1226; and was followed by so many institutions of a like nature in France, Germany, Holland, and Flanders, that, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, there was scarcely a city of any note, that had not its *beguinage*, or *vineyard*, as it was sometimes called in conformity to the style of the *Song of Songs*. All these female societies were not governed by the same laws: but, in the greatest part of them, the hours, that were not devoted to prayer, meditation, or other religious exercises, were employed in weaving, embroidering, and other manual labours of various kinds.

XXVII. This female institution was soon imitated in Flanders by the other sex; and considerable numbers of unmarried men, both bachelors and widowers, formed themselves into communities of the same kind with those of the *Beguines*, under the government of a certain chief, and with the same religious purposes; still, however, reserving to themselves the liberty of returning to their former method of life. These pious persons were, in the style of this age,

age, called *Beghards*, and by a corruption of that term usual among the Flemish and Dutch, *Bogards*; from others they received the denomination of *Lollards*; in France they were distinguished by that of *Beguins*. The Roman pontiffs never honoured the societies of the Beghards and Beguines with their explicit approbation; they, however, granted them a full toleration, and even defended them against their enemies.

XXVIII. It will not be improper to conclude this chapter by mentioning briefly the Greek and Latin writers, who, during the same period, acquired a name by their learned productions. The most eminent among the Greeks, were,

Theodorus Lascaris, who left behind him several treatises upon various subjects of a religious nature, and who also entered the lists against the Latins, which was the reigning passion among such of the Greeks, as were endowed with any tolerable parts:

Georgius Acropolita, who acquired a high degree of renown, not only by his historical writings, but also by the transactions and negotiations in which he was employed by the emperor Michael.

XXIX. The prodigious number of Latin writers that appeared in this century renders it impossible for us to mention them all; we shall therefore confine ourselves to a few of the most eminent. Such are,

Francis, the founder of the famous society of *Friars-minors*, or *Franciscans*, whose writings were designed to touch the heart, and excite pious and devout sentiments, but discover little genius, and less judgment.

Jacobus de Vitriaco, who acquired a name by his *Oriental History*, and Jacobus de Voragine, whose



whose *History of the Lombards* was received with applause.

The writers who obtained the greatest renown on account of their laborious researches in philosophical or dialectical theology, were Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura, who were, each of them, truly possessed of a sublime and penetrating genius, accompanied with an uncommon talent of sounding the most hidden truths, and treating with facility the most abstruse subjects, though they are all chargeable with errors that do little honour to their memories.

John of Paris deserves an eminent rank among the glorious defenders of truth, liberty, and justice; since he maintained the authority of the civil powers, and the majesty of kings and princes, against the ambitious stratagems and usurpations of the Roman pontiffs; and declared openly his opposition to the opinion that was commonly adopted with respect to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the presence of Christ in that holy ordinance.

### C H A P. III.

*Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church during this century.*

I. **H**OWEVER numerous and deplorable the corruptions and superstitious abuses were, that had hitherto reigned in the church, and deformed the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, they were increased in this century, and the religion of Christ continued to suffer under growing fanaticism and superstition. The progress  
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of truth was retarded among the Greeks and Orientals, by their immoderate aversion to the Latins, the indolence of their bishops, the stupidity of their clergy, and the calamities of the times. Among the Latins, many concurring causes united to augment the darkness of that cloud that had already been cast over Christianity. On the one hand, the Roman pontiffs could not bear the thoughts of any thing that might diminish their authority; and therefore they laboured assiduously to blast every attempt that was made towards a reformation in the doctrine or discipline of the church. On the other hand, the school-divines, among whom the Dominican and Franciscan monks made the greatest figure, shed perplexity and darkness over the plain truths of religion by their intricate distinctions.

II. It will be easy to confirm this general account of the state of religion by particular facts. In the fourth council of the Lateran that was held by Innocent III. in the year 1215, that imperious pontiff, without deigning to consult any body, published no less than seventy laws or decrees, by which not only the authority of the popes and the power of the clergy were extended, but also new *articles of faith* imposed upon Christians. Hitherto the opinions of the Christian doctors, concerning the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, were extremely different; nor had the church determined the sentiment that was to be embraced in relation to that important matter. It was reserved for Innocent to put an end to the liberty, which every Christian had hitherto enjoyed, and to decide in favour of the most monstrous doctrine, that frenzy was capable of inventing. This audacious pontiff pronounced the

the opinion that is embraced at this day in the church of Rome, to be the only orthodox one; introducing and establishing the use of the term *Transubstantiation*, which was hitherto absolutely unknown. The same pontiff placed, by his own authority, among the duties prescribed by the divine laws, that of *auricular confession* to a priest; not only a general acknowledgment, but a particular enumeration of the sins and follies of the penitent. Before this period several looked upon this *confession*, as a duty; but this opinion was not received as the doctrine of the church.

III. The Christian interpreters and commentators of this century, differ very little from those of the preceding times. The greatest part of them pretended to draw from the depths of truth (or rather of their imaginations) what they called the *Internal juice and marrow* of the scriptures, i. e. their hidden and mysterious sense; and this they did with so little dexterity, that most of their explications must appear insipid and nauseous to such as are not entirely destitute of judgment.

IV. Systems of theology and morals were multiplied exceedingly; and the number of those writers, who treated of the divine perfections and worship, and of the practical rules of virtue and obedience, is too great to permit our mentioning them particularly. All such as were endowed with any considerable degree of genius employed their labours upon these noble branches of sacred science, more especially the academical teachers, among whom the Dominicans and Franciscans held the most eminent rank. It is, indeed, neither necessary to mention the names, nor to enumerate the productions, of these doctors, since whoever is acquainted with



the characters and writings of Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas, will know every thing that is worthy of note in the rest, who were no more than their echos. The latter of these two truly great men, who was commonly called the *Angel of the schools*, or the *Angelic Doctor*, sat unrivalled at the head of the divines of this century, and deservedly obtained the principal place among those who digested the doctrines of Christianity into a regular system. For no sooner had his system or *sum* of theology and morals seen the light, than it was received with the highest applause, placed in the same rank with the famous *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and admitted as the standard of truth, and the great rule according to which the public teachers formed their plans of instruction, and the youth their method of study.

V. The greatest part of these doctors followed Aristotle as their model, and made use of the logical and metaphysical principles of that subtil philosopher, in illustrating the doctrines of Christianity and removing the difficulties with which some of them were attended. Yet notwithstanding all the subtilty and penetration of these *irrefragable*, *seraphic*, and *angelic* doctors, they often appeared wiser in their own conceit, than they were in reality, and frequently did little more than involve in greater obscurity, the doctrines which they pretended to place in the clearest light. For not to mention the ridiculous oddity of many of their expressions, the hideous barbarity of their style, and their extravagant desire of prying into matters that infinitely surpass the comprehension of short-sighted mortals, they were chargeable with defects in their manner of reasoning, which every  
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true philosopher will be most careful to avoid. For they neither defined their terms accurately, and hence arose innumerable disputes merely about words; nor did they divide their subject with perspicuity, and hence they generally treated it in a confused manner. The great *Angelic Doctor* himself was defective in these respects; his definitions are often vague, or obscure, and his plans or divisions, though full of art, are frequently destitute of clearness and proportion.

VI. The method of investigating divine truth by reason and philosophy prevailed universally, and was followed with such ardour, that the number of those, who, in conformity with the example of the ancient doctors, drew their systems of theology from the holy scriptures, and who acquired on that account the name of *Biblicists*, diminished from day to day. It is true, several persons of eminent piety, and even some of the Roman pontiffs, exhorted the *scholastic* divines, and more especially those of the university of Paris, to change their method of teaching theology, and, laying aside their philosophical subtilty, to deduce the sublime science of salvation from the holy scriptures. But these exhortations were without effect; the evil was become too inveterate to admit of a remedy, and the passion for logic and metaphysic was grown so universal and so violent, that neither remonstrances nor arguments could allay its ardour.

VII. Both the school-men and Mystics of this century treated of the obligations of morality, the duties of the Christian life, and of the means that were most adapted to preserve or deliver the soul from the servitude of vice; but their methods of handling these important subjects

were entirely different. As to the scholastic moralists, they were principally employed in defining the nature of virtue and vice in general, and the characters of the various virtues and vices in particular; and hence the prodigious number of *sums*, or systematical collections, of *virtues and vices*, that appeared in this century. Thomas Aquinas shone forth as a star of the first magnitude, though, like the others, he was often covered with impenetrable fogs. The second part of his famous *sum* was wholly employed in laying down the principles of morality, and in deducing and illustrating the various duties that result from them.

VIII. The writers of controversy in this century were more numerous than respectable. Nicetas Acominatus, who made a considerable figure among the Greeks, attacked all the different sects in his work entitled, *The Treasure of the Orthodox Faith*; but he combated after the Grecian manner, and defended the cause, rather by the decrees of councils, and the decisions of the fathers, than by reason and scripture. Raymond of Pennafort was one of the first among the Latins, who abandoned the unchristian method of converting infidels by the force of arms, and who undertook to vanquish the Jews and Saracens by reason and argument. This engaged in the same controversy a considerable number of able disputants, who were acquainted with the Hebrew and Arabic languages, among whom Raymond Martin, the celebrated author of the *Sword of Faith*, is unquestionably entitled to the first rank. Thomas Aquinas also appeared with dignity among the Christian champions, and his book against the Gentiles is far from being contemptible.

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IX. The grand controversy between the Greek and Latin church was still carried on; and all the efforts made to bring it to a conclusion, proved ineffectual. Gregory IX. employed the Franciscan monks to bring about an accommodation with the Greeks, but without the least success. Innocent IV. embarked in the same undertaking in the year 1247, and sent John of Parma, with other Franciscan friars, to Nice for the same purpose; while the Grecian pontiff came in person to Rome, and was declared legate of the *Apostolic see*. But these previous acts of mutual civility and respect did not terminate in the reconciliation that was expected. Under the pontificate of Urban IV. the negotiations for peace were renewed with such success, as promised a speedy conclusion of these unhappy divisions. For Michael Palæologus had no sooner driven the Latins out of Constantinople, than he sent ambassadors to Rome to declare his pacific intentions. But, during the course of these negotiations, Urban's death left matters unfinished. Under the pontificate of Gregory X. proposals of peace were again made by the same emperor, who sent ambassadors to the council that was assembled at Lyons in the year 1274, and there publicly agreed to the terms of accommodation proposed by the Roman pontiff. This re-union, however, was not durable; for Andronicus, the son of Michael, assembled a council at Constantinople, A. D. 1284, in which, by a solemn decree, this ignominious treaty was declared null.

X. We pass over several controversies of inferior moment; but we must not forget to observe that the grand dispute concerning the eucharist was still continued, not only in France,

but also in several other places. For though Innocent III. had taken upon him to place *Transubstantiation* among the avowed doctrines of the Latin church, yet the authority of this decree was called in question by many. Many, also, thought it sufficient to acknowledge, what was termed, a *real presence*, though they explained the *manner* of this presence quite otherwise than the doctrine of Innocent had defined it.

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#### C H A P. IV.

*Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.*

I. **I**T would be endless to enumerate the additions that were made in this century to the external part of divine worship. These additions were owing partly to the edicts of the Roman pontiffs, and partly to the injunctions of the Sacerdotal and Monastic orders, who shared the veneration, which was excited in the multitude by the magnificence of this religious spectacle. Religion was now become a sort of a raree-show in the hands of the rulers of the church, who, to render its impression more deep, thought proper to exhibit it in a striking manner to the senses. For this purpose, at certain stated times, and especially upon the more illustrious festivals, the miraculous dispensations of the divine wisdom in favour of the church, and the more remarkable events in the Christian history, were represented under allegorical figures and images in a kind of mimic shew. But these scenic representations, in which there was a motley mixture of mirth and gravity, these tragi-comical spectacles,

tacles, though they amused the gazing populace, were highly detrimental to the cause of religion; they degraded its dignity, and furnished abundant matter of laughter to its enemies.

II. It will not appear surprising that the bread, consecrated in the Lord's supper, became the object of religious worship; for this was the natural consequence of the monstrous doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. But the effects of that impious doctrine did not end here; it produced all that train of ceremonies that are still used in the church of Rome in honour of that *deified* bread, as they blasphemously call it. Hence those rich and splendid receptacles, that were formed for the residence of God under this new shape, and the lamps and other precious ornaments that were designed to beautify this habitation of the Deity. And hence the custom that still prevails, of carrying about this *divine bread* in solemn pomp through the public streets, when it is to be administered to sick or dying persons.

III. About the conclusion of this century, Boniface VIII. as has been already observed, added to the public ceremonies of the church, the famous jubilee, which is still celebrated at Rome, at a stated period, with the utmost profusion of pomp and magnificence. In the year 1299, a rumour was spread among the inhabitants of that city, that all such, as visited, within the limits of the following year, the church of St. Peter, should obtain the remission of all their sins, and that this privilege was to be annexed to the performance of the same service, once every hundred years. Boniface no sooner heard of this, than he ordered inquiry to be made concerning the author of this report, and he was assured,  
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(say the Roman catholic historians) that, from the remotest antiquity, this important privilege of remission was to be obtained by the services above-mentioned. So he issued out an epistolary mandate, addressed to all Christians, in which he enacted it as a solemn law of the church, that those, who every hundredth or jubilee year, confessed their sins, and visited the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, should obtain the entire remission of their various offences. The successors of Boniface were not satisfied with adding a multitude of new rites, by way of ornaments, to this superstitious institution; but, finding by experience that it augmented the revenues of the Roman church, they fixed its celebration to every five and twentieth year.

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## C H A P. V.

*Concerning the divisions and heresies, that troubled the church during this century.*

I. **WE** have no account of any new sects that arose among the Greeks during this century. Those of the Nestorians and Jacobites, which were settled in the remoter regions of the east, and who equalled the Greeks in their aversion to the rites and jurisdiction of the Latin church, were frequently solicited, by the Franciscan and Dominican missionaries, to receive the Roman yoke. In the year 1246, Innocent IV. used his utmost efforts to bring both these sects under his dominion; and in the year 1278, terms of accommodation were proposed by Nicolas IV. to the Nestorians, and particularly

particularly to that branch of the sect which resided in the northern part of Asia. The leading men both among the Nestorians and Jacobites seemed to give ear to these proposals, and were by no means averse to a reconciliation with the church of Rome; but the prospect of peace soon vanished, and a variety of causes concurred to prolong the rupture.

II. During the whole course of this century, the Roman pontiffs carried on the most barbarous and inhuman persecution against those whom they branded with the denomination of *heretics*, i. e. against all those who called their pretended authority and jurisdiction in question, or taught doctrines different from those which were propagated by the church of Rome. The *Catharists*, *Waldenses*, *Petrobrusians*, &c. gathered strength from day to day, spread imperceptibly throughout all Europe, assembled numerous congregations in Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, and formed by degrees such a powerful party as rendered them formidable to the Roman pontiffs, and menaced the papal jurisdiction. To the ancient sects new were added, which, though they differed from each other in various respects, yet were all agreed in this point, "That the public and established religion was a motley system of errors and superstition; and that the dominion which the popes had usurped over Christians, as also the authority they exercised in religious matters, were unlawful and tyrannical." The pontiffs, therefore, considered themselves as obliged to have recourse to new and extraordinary methods of subduing these enemies.

III. The number of these dissenters from the church of Rome was no where greater than in Narbonne Gaul, (that part of France which,  
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in ancient times, comprehended the provinces of Savoy, Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc,) where they were received and protected by Raymond VI. earl of Tholouse, and other persons of the highest distinction; and where the bishops, either through humanity or indolence, were remiss in the prosecution of heretics. Innocent III. was soon informed of all these proceedings; and about the commencement of this century sent legates extraordinary into the southern provinces of France to do what the bishops had left undone, and to extirpate heresy, in all its various forms, without being at all scrupulous in using any methods to effect this salutary purpose. The persons charged with this ghostly commission were Rainier, a Cistercian monk, and Pierre de Castelnau, an archdeacon. These missionaries were followed by several others, among whom was the famous Spaniard Dominic, who, returning from Rome in the year 1206, fell in with these delegates, embarked in their cause, and laboured in the extirpation of heresy. These champions, who engaged in this expedition upon the sole authority of the pope, without asking the advice or succours of the bishops, and who inflicted capital punishments upon such heretics as they could not convert, were distinguished by the title of *Inquisitors*, and from them the formidable tribunal called the *Inquisition* derived its original.

IV. When this new set of heresy-hunters had purged the provinces to which they were sent, of the greatest part of the enemies of the Roman faith, the pontiffs established *Inquisitors* in almost every city whose inhabitants were suspected of heresy, notwithstanding the reluctance which the people shewed, and the violence with which they



they frequently expelled, and sometimes massacred these bloody officers. The council held at Tholouse, in the year 1229, by Romanus, the pope's legate, went still farther, and erected in every city a *council of inquisitors consisting of one priest and three laymen*. This institution was, however, superseded, in the year 1233, by Gregory IX. who entrusted the Dominicans with the important commission of discovering and bringing to judgment the heretics that were lurking in France. Immediately after this, the bishop of Tournay, who was the pope's legate in France, began to execute this new resolution, by appointing Pierre Cellan, and Guillaume Arnaud, *inquisitors of heretical pravity at Tholouse*, and afterwards proceeded in every city, where the Dominicans had a convent, to constitute officers of the same nature. From this period we are to date the dreadful tribunal of the *inquisition*, which in this and the following ages subdued such a prodigious multitude of heretics, part of whom were converted to the church by terror, and the rest committed to the flames. For the Dominicans erected, first at Tholouse, and afterwards at other places, a tremendous court, before which were summoned not only persons *suspected of heresy*, but likewise all who were accused of *magic, judaism, witchcraft*, and other crimes of that kind. And this tribunal, in process of time, was erected in the other countries of Europe.

V. The method of proceeding in this court of inquisition was at first simple, similar to that observed in the ordinary courts of justice. But this simplicity was gradually changed by the Dominicans, to whom experience suggested several new methods of augmenting the pomp and majesty

majesty of their spiritual tribunal, and who made such alterations in the forms of proceedings, that the manner of taking cognizance of *heretical* causes became totally different from that which was usual in civil affairs. These friars were, to say the truth, entirely ignorant of judicial matters; and hence arose that strange system of *inquisitorial* law, which, in many respects, is so contrary to the common feelings of humanity, and the plainest dictates of equity and justice.

VI. That nothing might be wanting to render this spiritual court formidable and tremendous, the Roman pontiffs persuaded the European princes, and more especially the emperor Frederic II. and Lewis IX. king of France, not only to enact the most barbarous laws against *heretics*, and to commit to the flames those who were pronounced *such* by the *inquisitors*, but also to maintain the inquisitors in their office, and grant them their protection in the most solemn manner. The edicts to this purpose issued out by Frederic II. are well known; edicts every way proper to excite horror, and which rendered the most illustrious piety incapable of saving from the cruellest death such as had the misfortune to be disagreeable to the *inquisitors*. These abominable laws were not, however, sufficient to restrain the just indignation of the people against these inhuman judges. Accordingly they were insulted by the multitude in many places, were driven, in an ignominious manner, out of some cities, and were put to death in others; and Conrad of Marpurg, the first German inquisitor, who derived his commission from Gregory IX. was one of the many victims that were sacrificed to the vengeance of the public, which his incredible barbarities had raised to a dreadful degree

degree of fury. The Abbé Fleury acknowledges the brutal barbarity of this unrelenting inquisitor, who, under the pretext of heresy, not only committed to the flames a prodigious number of nobles, clerks, monks, hermits, and laypersons of all ranks, but moreover caused them to be put to death, the very same day they were accused, without appeal.

VII. When Innocent III. perceived that the labours of the first *inquisitors* were not immediately attended with such fruits as he had expected, he addressed himself, in the year 1207, to Philip Augustus king of France, and to the leading men of that nation, soliciting them by the alluring promise of the most ample *indulgences*, to extirpate all heretics by fire and sword. This exhortation was repeated with new earnestness the year following, when Pierre de Castelnau, the legate of this pontiff, and his inquisitor in France, was put to death by the patrons of the people, called heretics. Not long after this, the pope proclaimed a crusade against the heretics throughout the whole kingdom of France, and a storm seemed to be gathering against them on all sides: Raymond VI. earl of Tholouse, in whose territories Castelnau had been massacred, was solemnly excommunicated, and, to deliver himself from this ecclesiastical malediction, changed sides, and embarked in the crusade now mentioned. In the year 1209, a formidable army of cross-bearers commenced against the heretics, who were comprehended under the general denomination of *Albigenses*, an open war which they carried on with the utmost exertions of cruelty. The chief director of this ghostly war was Arnald, legate of the Roman pontiff: and the commander of the



the troops was Simon earl of Montford. Raymond VI. earl of Tholouse, who, consulting his safety rather than his conscience, had engaged in the crusade against the heretics, was obliged again to change sides, and to attack their persecutors. For Simon, who had embarked in this war not so much from zeal for religion, as from a desire of augmenting his fortune, cast a greedy eye upon the territories of Raymond, and his selfish views were seconded and accomplished by the court of Rome. After many battles, sieges, and a multitude of other exploits, conducted with the most intrepid courage and the most abominable barbarity, he received from the hands of Innocent III. at the council of the Lateran, A. D. 1215, the county of Tholouse and the other lands, belonging to that earl, as a reward for his zeal in supporting the *cause of God* and of *the church*. About three years after this, he lost his life at the siege of Tholouse. Raymond, his valiant adversary, died in the year 1222.

VIII. Thus were the two chiefs of this deplorable war taken off; but this removal was far from extinguishing the infernal flame of persecution. Raymond VII. earl of Tholouse, and Amalric, earl of Montford, succeeded their fathers at the head of the contending parties, and carried on the war with the utmost vehemence; and with such various success as rendered the issue for some time doubtful. The former seemed at first more powerful than his adversary, and the Roman pontiff Honorius III. alarmed at the vigorous opposition he made to the orthodox legions, engaged Lewis VIII. king of France, to march against him in person with a formidable army. The obsequious monarch embarked  
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with a considerable military force in the cause of the church; but did not live to reap the fruits of his zeal. His engagements, however, with the court of Rome, were executed with the greatest vigour by his son and successor Lewis the *Saint*; so that Raymond, pressed on all sides, was obliged, in the year 1229, to make peace upon the most disadvantageous terms, even by making a cession of the greatest part of his territories to the French monarch, after having sacrificed a considerable portion of them, as a peace-offering to the church of Rome. This treaty gave a mortal blow to the cause of heresy; the *inquisition* was established at Tholouse, and the heretics were not only exposed to the *pious* cruelties of Lewis, but, what was still more shocking, Raymond himself, who had formerly been their patron, became their persecutor. Yet, this prince broke the engagements into which he had entered, and renewed the war against Lewis and the inquisitors, who abused their victory and the power they had acquired in the most odious manner. But this new effort was attended with little or no effect; and the unfortunate earl of Tholouse, the last representative of that noble house, dejected and exhausted by the losses he had sustained, and the perplexities in which he was involved, died, in the year 1249, without male issue. And thus ended a war which, in its consequences, was highly profitable both to the kings of France and to the Roman pontiffs.

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THE  
FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The EXTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

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CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the church during this century.*

I. SEVERAL attempts were made by the princes of the west, set on by the Roman pontiffs, to renew the war in Palestine. The pontiffs that resided at Avignon were particularly zealous for the renovation of this religious war, and left no artifice unemployed, to engage the kings of England and France in an expedition to the Holy Land. But their success was not answerable to their zeal. Clement V. urged the renewal of this holy war with the greatest ardour in the years 1307 and 1308, and set apart an immense sum of money for carrying it on. John XXII. ordered a fleet of ten ships to be fitted out in the year 1319, to transport an army of pious adventurers into Palestine. But we find Lewis of Bavaria, who was at that time



time emperor, and several other princes, complaining loudly that this pontiff made use of the holy war as a pretext to disguise his avarice and ambition. A formidable army was raised in the year 1330, by Philip de Valois, king of France, with a view to attempt the deliverance of the Christians in Palestine; but when he was just ready to embark, the apprehension of an invasion from England obliged him to lay aside this enterprize. In the year 1345, Clement V. engaged, by the persuasive power of *indulgences*, a prodigious number of adventurers to embark for Smyrna, where they composed a numerous army under the command of Guido, dauphin of Vienne; but the want of provisions obliged them to return into Europe in a short time after their departure. This disappointment did not, however, damp the spirits of the restless pontiffs; for another formidable army was assembled in the year 1363, in consequence of the zealous exhortations of Urban V. and was to be employed in a new expedition against the Infidels, with John, king of France, at its head; but the unexpected death of that prince blasted the hopes that many had entertained, and occasioned the dispersion of that numerous body.

II. The missionaries that had been sent by the Roman pontiffs into China, Tartary, and the adjacent countries, in the preceding century, found their labours crowned with the desired success, and established a great number of Christian churches in these unenlightened nations. In the year 1307, Clement V. erected Cambalu (which at this time was the metropolis of Cathay, and is, undoubtedly, the same with Peking, the capital city at present of the Chinese empire) into

an archbishopric, which he conferred upon John de Monte Corvino, an Italian friar, who had been employed in propagating the gospel in that country for many years. The same pontiff sent soon after to assist this prelate in his pious labours seven other bishops of the Franciscan order. John XXII. exerted in this good cause the same zeal which had distinguished his predecessors. Upon the death of John de Monte Corvino, in the year 1330, he sent Nicolas of Bentra to fill the vacant archbishopric of Cambalu, and charged him with letters to the emperor of the Tartars, who, at that time, was in possession of the Chinese dominions. In the year 1338, Benedict XII. sent new legates into Tartary and China; in consequence of a solemn embassy with which he was honoured at Avignon from the Khan of the Tartars. During the time that the princes of this latter nation maintained themselves in the empire of China, the Christian religion flourished in these vast regions, and both Latins and Nestorians not only made a public profession of their faith, but also propagated it without any apprehension of danger.

III. There remained in this century scarcely any European prince, unconverted to Christianity, if we except Jagello, duke of Lithuania, who continued in the darkness of paganism, until the year 1386, when he embraced the Christian faith, and persuaded his subjects to open their eyes upon the light of the gospel. We shall not justify the purity of the motives that engaged this prince to renounce the religion of his fathers, as they were accompanied with views of interest and ambition. Upon the death of Lewis, king of Poland, in the year 1382, Jagello was named among the competitors for the

the vacant throne; and as he was a rich and powerful prince, the Poles beheld his pretensions with a favourable eye. His religion was the only obstacle that lay in his way to the accomplishment of his views. Hedwige, the youngest daughter of the deceased monarch, who, by a decree of the senate, was declared heiress of the kingdom, was as little disposed to espouse, as the Poles were to obey, a Pagan, and hence Jagello was obliged to make superstition yield to royalty. On the other hand, the Teutonic knights extirpated by fire and sword any remains of paganism that were to be found in Prussia and Livonia, and effected, by force, what persuasion alone ought to have produced.

We find also in the annals of this century a great many Jews converted to the Christian faith. The cruel persecutions they suffered in several parts of Europe, particularly in France and Germany, vanquished their obstinacy, and bent their untractable spirits under the yoke of the gospel.

IV. The Saracens maintained, as yet, a considerable footing in Spain. The kingdoms of Granada and Murcia, with the province of Andalusia, were subject to their dominion; and they carried on a perpetual war with the kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, in which, however, they were not always victorious. The African princes, and particularly the emperors of Morocco, became their auxiliaries against the Christians. On the other hand, the Roman pontiffs left no means unemployed to excite the Christians to unite their forces against the Mahometans, and to drive them out of the Spanish territories; presents, exhortations, promises, in short, every allurements that superstition, or  
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avarice could render powerful, were made use of in order to the execution of this project. The Christians, accordingly, united their counsels for this end; and though for some time their progress was but inconsiderable, yet their affairs carried a promising aspect, and gave them reason to hope that they should one day become sole possessors of the Spanish dominions.

## C H A P. II.

*Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.*

I. **T**HE Turks and Tartars, who extended their dominions in Asia with an amazing rapidity, and directed their arms against the Greeks as well as against the Saracens, destroyed wherever they went, the fruits that had sprung up from the labours of the Christian missionaries, extirpated the religion of Jesus, and substituted the impostures of Mahomet in its place. Many of the Tartars had formerly professed the gospel, and still more had tolerated it; but things now put on a new face; and that fierce nation renounced every other doctrine, except that of the Koran. Timur Beg, commonly called Tamerlane, their mighty emperor, embraced himself the doctrine of Mahomet, and, after having subdued the greatest part of Asia, triumphed over Bajazet the emperor of the Turks, and filled Europe with terror at the approach of his arms, made use of his authority to force multitudes of Christians to apostatize from their holy faith. To authority he added violence and persecution, and treated the disciples of Christ with

with the utmost barbarity. Persuaded that it was incumbent upon the true followers of Mahomet, to persecute the Christians, he employed the most inhuman acts of severity to vanquish the constancy of those that persevered in the Christian religion, of whom some suffered death in the most barbarous forms, while others were condemned to perpetual slavery.

II. In those parts of Asia, that are inhabited by the Chinese, Tartars, and Moguls, the Christian religion not only lost ground, but seemed to be totally extirpated. It is, at least, certain, that we have no account of any members of the Latin church residing in those countries later than the year 1370, nor could we ever learn the fate of the Franciscan missionaries that had been sent thither from Rome. It is evident, that the abolition of Christianity, in those parts, was owing to the wars that were carried on by the Tartars against the Chinese and other Asiatic nations; for in the year 1369, the last emperor of the race of Gengis Kan was driven out of China, and his throne filled by the Mim family, who, by a solemn law, refused to all foreigners the privilege of entering into China.

## PART II.

## The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

## CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the state of learning and philosophy during this century.*

I. **T**HE Greeks, though dejected by foreign and intestine calamities, were far from withdrawing their attention from the cause of literature, as is evident from the great number of learned men who flourished among them during this period.

II. As none of the sages in this century set up for a leader in philosophy, such of the Greeks as had a taste for philosophical researches adhered to Aristotle; but we may learn from the tracts of Theodorus Metochita in what manner they explained the principles of the Stagirite. Plato also had his followers, especially among those who were fond of mysticism, which had for many ages been held in the highest veneration by the Greeks.

III. In all the Latin provinces, schemes were carried into execution with considerable success, for promoting the study of letters. This laudable disposition gave rise to the erection of many schools and academies, at Cologne, Orleans, Cahors, Perugia, Florence, and Pisa, in which all the liberal arts and sciences, distributed into the same classes that still subsist in those places, were taught with assiduity and zeal. Opulent persons founded and amply endowed particular colleges

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in the public universities, in which, besides the *monks*, young men of narrow circumstances were educated in all the branches of literature. Libraries were also collected, and men of learning animated to aspire to fame and glory by the prospect of honourable rewards.

IV. Clement V. who was now raised to the pontificate, ordered the Hebrew, and other oriental languages, to be taught in the public schools, that the church might never want missionaries properly qualified to dispute with the Jews and Mahometans, and to diffuse the divine light of the gospel throughout the east: in consequence of which appointment, some eminent proficient in these tongues, and especially in the Hebrew, flourished during this age. The Greek language, which hitherto had been much neglected, was now revived, and taught with general applause, first of all by Leontius Pilatus, a Calabrian, who wrote a commentary upon Homer, and a few others, but afterwards, with far greater success and reputation, by Manuel Chrysoloras, a native of Constantinople. Nor were there wanting some extraordinary geniuses, who contributed to the restoration of the ancient eloquence of the Latins, among whom the excellent Petrarch held the first place, and Dante Alighieri the second. Full of this design, they acted as if they had received an extraordinary commission to promote true taste and polite learning; and their success was answerable; for they had many followers, not only among their countrymen, but also among the French and Germans.

V. The writings of this age furnish us with a long list of grammarians, historians, lawyers, and physicians, of which it would be easy to give a circumstantial

circumstantial account: but as it is foreign to our purpose, it will be sufficient to inform our readers that there were but few of this vast multitude, whose labours were in any great degree useful to society. As for the mathematics, they were cultivated by many; yet, if we except Doctor Thomas Bradwardine, the acute and learned archbishop of Canterbury, there were but few who acquired any reputation by it.

VI. The vast number of philosophers, who rather disgraced than adorned this century, looked upon Aristotle as their oracle; though they were incapable of entering into the true spirit of his writings. So great was his authority, that even kings and emperors ordered the works of Aristotle to be translated into the native language of their dominions. Among the most eminent of this class was Charles V. king of France, who ordered all the writings of the ancients, and especially those of Aristotle, to be translated into French by Nicholas Oresme. Those, however, who professed themselves philosophers, instead of being animated by the love of truth, were inflamed by a rage of disputation, which led them to perplex and deform the pure, simple doctrines of reason and religion, by a multitude of idle subtilties.

VII. Among the philosophers, there were many who mingled astrology with their philosophy, *i. e.* the art of telling fortunes by the influence of the stars; and, notwithstanding the obvious absurdity of this pretended science, all ranks of people were fond of it even to distraction. Yet, in spite of all this popular prejudice in favour of their art, these astrological philosophers, to keep themselves out of the hands of the inquisitors, were obliged to behave with  
great

great circumspection. The neglect of this caution was fatal to Ceccus Asculanus, a famous peripatetic philosopher, astrologer, and mathematician, first of all physician to pope John XXII. and afterwards to Charles Sineterra, duke of Calabria. This unhappy man having performed some experiments in mechanics, that seemed miraculous to the vulgar, and having given out some predictions, which were said to have been fulfilled, was universally supposed to deal with infernal spirits, and burnt for it by the inquisitors at Florence, in the year 1337.

VIII. Raymund Lully was the author of a new and singular kind of philosophy, which he endeavoured to illustrate by his voluminous writings. He was a native of Majorca, and admirable for the extent and fecundity of his genius; yet, at the same time, a strange compound of reason and folly. Being full of zeal for the propagation of the gospel, and having performed many voyages, and undergone various hardships to promote it, he was slain at Bugia, in Africa, in the year 1315, by the Mahometans, whom he was attempting to convert.

## C H A P. II.

*Concerning the doctors and government of the church during this century.*

I. **T**HE governors of the church in this period, from the highest to the lowest orders, were addicted to vices peculiarly dishonourable to their sacred character. We shall say nothing of the Grecian clergy, though they deserve their part in this ignominious charge.



But with regard to the Latins our silence would be inexcusable, since the flagrant abuses that prevailed among them, were attended with consequences equally pernicious to the interests of religion and of civil society. It is, however, necessary to observe, that there were, even in these degenerate times, several pious and worthy men, who ardently longed for a reformation of the church, both in *its head and members*.

II. Boniface VIII. filled the papal throne about the beginning of this century, and Philip the Fair, that of France. This prince, who was endowed with a bold and enterprising spirit, soon convinced Europe, that it was possible to set bounds to the overgrown arrogance of the bishop of Rome. Boniface sent Philip letters, in which he asserted, that the king of France, with all other kings and princes, was obliged to submit to the authority of the popes, as well in all civil matters, as in those of a religious nature. The king answered him with great spirit, and in terms expressive of the utmost contempt. The pope rejoined with more arrogance than ever; and, in that famous *bull, unam sanctam*, which he published about this time, asserted that Jesus Christ had granted a two-fold power to his church, or, in other words, *the spiritual and temporal sword*; that he had subjected the whole human race to the authority of the Roman pontiff, and that whoever dared to disbelieve it, were to be deemed heretics, and stood excluded from all possibility of salvation. The king, on the other hand, in an assembly of the peers of his kingdom, held in the year 1303, ordered William de Nogaret, a celebrated lawyer, to draw up an accusation against the pope, in which he publicly charged him with *heresies, simony,* and

and many other vices, demanding, at the same time, an œcumenical council to depose such an execrable pontiff. The pope, in his turn, passed a sentence of excommunication against the king and all his adherents.

III. Philip, shortly after, held an assembly of the states of the kingdom, where he again employed some persons of the highest rank to sit in judgment upon the pope, and appealed to a general council. After this he sent William de Nogaret, with some others, into Italy, to seize the pope's person, and to convey him to Lyons, where the king was determined to hold the above-mentioned council. Nogaret, being a resolute active man, soon levied a small army, seized Boniface, who lived in perfect security at Anagni, and as soon as he had got him into his power treated him in the most shocking manner, carrying his resentment so far as to wound him on the head with his iron gauntlet. The inhabitants of Anagni rescued him out of the hands of his enemy, and conducted him to Rome, where he died soon after of an illness occasioned by the rage and anguish into which these insults had thrown him.

IV. Benedict XI. who succeeded him, pursued more moderate measures. He repealed, of his own accord, the sentence of excommunication against the king; but never could be prevailed upon to absolve Nogaret. Nogaret set a small value upon the papal absolution, and prosecuted, with his usual vigour, in the Roman court, the accusation that he had brought against Boniface; and, in the name of his royal master, insisted, that the memory of that pontiff should be branded with infamy. While this was transacting, Benedict died, A. D. 1304; upon which

Philip, by his artful intrigues, obtained the see of Rome for a French prelate, Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bourdeaux, who was accordingly elected on the 5th of June 1305. The French monarch still insisted upon the formal condemnation of Boniface by the court of Rome, and other concessions, which he could not reasonably expect from an Italian pope. Bertrand assumed the name of Clement V, and at the king's request, removed the papal-residence to Avignon, where it continued seventy years.

V. There is no doubt, but the residence of the popes in France greatly impaired the authority of the Roman see. For during the absence of the pontiffs, the faction of the Gibellines, their inveterate enemies, not only invaded and ravaged St. Peter's *patrimony*, but even attacked the papal authority by their writings. This caused many cities to revolt from the popes: even Rome itself was the grand source of cabals, tumults, and civil wars; insomuch, that the decrees sent thither from France were treated with contempt by the common people, as well as by the nobles. The influence of this example was propagated from Italy through most parts of Europe. This gave rise to various seditions against the pontiffs, which they could not entirely crush, even with the aid of the *inquisitors*, who exerted themselves with the most barbarous fury.

VI. The French pontiffs, finding they could draw but small revenues from their Italian dominions, which were now torn in pieces by faction, were obliged to contrive new methods of accumulating wealth. For this purpose they not only sold *indulgences* to the people, more frequently than they had formerly done, but  
also



also disposed publicly of scandalous licences, of all sorts, at an excessive price. John XXII. was remarkably shrewd and zealous in promoting this abominable traffic; for, though he was not the first inventor of the *taxes and rules of the apostolical chancery*, yet the Romish writers acknowledge that he enlarged and rendered them more extensively profitable. Besides the abuses now mentioned, these Gallic popes, having abolished the right of elections, arrogated to themselves a power of conferring all the offices of the church, whether greater or smaller, by which they soon amassed prodigious wealth. It was also under their government that *reserves, provisions, expectatives*, and other impositions of the like odious nature, that had seldom or never been heard of before, filled all Europe with bitter complaints. These complaints exceeded all bounds, when some of these pontiffs, particularly John XXII. Clement VI. and Gregory X. openly declared that they had *reserved* to themselves all churches and parishes within their jurisdiction, and were determined, in consequence of that *plenitude of power* which Christ had conferred upon them, his vicars, to *provide* for them and dispose of them without exception. It was by these and other such mean contrivances, that these pontiffs excited a general hatred against the Roman see, and thereby greatly weakened the papal empire, which had been upon the decline from the time of Boniface.

VII. Clement V. was a mere creature of Philip, and was absolutely directed and governed by that prince. William de Nogaret, the implacable enemy of Boniface VIII. notwithstanding he was under a sentence of excommunication, had the boldness to prosecute his master's cause,

and his own against Boniface, even in the pope's court. Philip insisted, that the dead body of Boniface should be dug up, and publicly burnt; but Clement averted this infamy by his intreaties, promising obedience to the king in every thing else. In order to keep his word, he was obliged to abrogate the laws enacted by Boniface, fully to absolve Nogaret of all his crimes, on condition of his submitting to a light penance, (which, however, he never performed) to restore the citizens of Anagni to their honour, and to call a general council at Vienne in the year 1311, in order to condemn the Templars, on whose destruction Philip was ardently bent. In this council every thing was determined as the king thought proper. For Clement, terrified by the fate of Boniface, durst not oppose this intrepid and obstinate monarch.

VIII. Upon Clement's death, which happened in the year 1314, fierce contentions arose about choosing a successor, the French cardinals insisting upon a French, and those of Italy demanding an Italian pope. After a contest, which continued two years, the French party prevailed, and in the year 1316, elected James De Euse, cardinal bishop of Porto. He assumed the name of John XXII. and had a tolerable share of learning, but was at the same time crafty and proud, weak, imprudent, and covetous. He is deservedly censured for the ill success that attended him through his own imprudence, in many of his enterprizes; but especially for that calamitous war into which he entered against Lewis of Bavaria. This prince disputed the throne of Germany with Frederic, duke of Austria; and they had been both chosen to that dignity, in the year 1314, by their  
respective

respective partisans among the electors. John took it for granted, that the decision of this contest came under his jurisdiction. But, in the year 1322, the duke of Bavaria, having vanquished his competitor, took upon him the administration of the empire without asking the pope's approbation. John interpreted this refusal as a heinous insult, and, by an edict issued out in the year 1324, pretended to deprive the emperor of his crown. But his impotent resentment was little regarded; nay, he was even accused of heresy by the emperor, who, at the same time, appealed to a general council. Highly exasperated by these affronts, the pontiff presumes, in the year 1327, to declare the imperial throne vacant a second time, and even to publish a sentence of excommunication against the chief of the empire. This was severely resented by Lewis, who, in the year 1328, published an edict at Rome, by which John was declared unworthy of the pontificate, deposed from that dignity, and succeeded in it by one of his bitterest enemies Peter de Corbieri, a Franciscan monk, who assumed the name of Nicolas V. and crowned the emperor at Rome in a public manner. But, in the year 1330, this *imperial* pope voluntarily abdicated the chair, and surrendered himself to John, who kept him in close confinement at Avignon for the rest of his days. Thus ended the contest between the duke of Bavaria and John XXII. who, notwithstanding their mutual efforts to dethrone each other, continued both in the possession of their respective dignities.

IX. The numerous tribes of the *Fratricelli*, *Beghards*, and *Spiritual Franciscans*, adhered to the party of Lewis. Supported by his patronage,  
and



and dispersed throughout the greatest part of Europe, they attacked every where the reigning pontiff, as an enemy to the true religion, and loaded him with the heaviest accusations. These attacks did not greatly affect the pontiff, as they were made only by a set of obscure monks; but, towards the conclusion of his life, he incurred the censures of almost the whole Catholic church. For in the year 1331 and 1332, having asserted, in some public discourses, that the souls of the faithful, in their intermediate state, were permitted to behold Christ as man, but not the *face of God*, or the divine nature, before their reunion with the body at the last day, this doctrine highly offended Philip VI. king of France, and was unanimously condemned by the divines of Paris, in the year 1333. Alarmed by these proceedings, he immediately offered something by way of excuse for having espoused this opinion; and afterwards, in the year 1334, when he lay at the point of death, though he did not entirely renounce, he, in some measure, softened it, by saying, he believed that the unembodied souls of the righteous *beheld the divine essence as far as their separate state and condition would permit*. This declaration did not satisfy his adversaries; hence his successor, Benedict XII. put an end to this controversy by an unanimous resolution of the Parisian doctors, ordering it to be received as an article of faith, that the souls of the blessed, during their intermediate state, did fully and perfectly contemplate the divine nature.

X. John dying in the year 1334, new contentions arose in the conclave between the French and Italian cardinals; but towards the end of the year they chose James Fournier, a Frenchman, who took the name of Benedict XII.

The

The writers of these times represent him as a man of great probity, who was neither chargeable with that avarice, nor that ambition, that dishonoured so many of his predecessors. He put an end to the papal quarrel with the emperor Lewis. He carefully attended to the grievances of the church, redressed them as far as was in his power, endeavoured to reform the fundamental laws of the monastic societies, whether of the mendicant, or more opulent orders; and died in the year 1342, while he was laying the most noble schemes for promoting a yet more extensive reformation.

XI. He was succeeded by a man of a quite different disposition, Clement VI. a native of France. This pontiff trod faithfully in the steps of John XXII. in *providing* for vacant churches and bishoprics, by *reserving* to himself the disposal of them, which shewed his insatiable avarice; in conferring ecclesiastical dignities and benefices of the highest consequence upon strangers and Italians, which drew upon him the warm displeasure of the kings of England and France; and lastly, in renewing the dissensions between the emperor and the Roman see. In the year 1343, he assailed the emperor with his thundering edicts; and when he heard that they were treated by that prince with the utmost contempt, his rage augmented; and he not only published new sentences of excommunication against him in the year 1346, but also excited the German princes to elect Henry VII. son to Charles IV. emperor in his place. This violent measure would infallibly have occasioned a civil war in Germany, had it not been prevented by the death of Lewis, in the year 1347. Clement did not long survive him, for he died in the  
year

year 1352, famous for nothing but his zeal for extending the papal authority, and for his having added Avignon, which he purchased of Joan, queen of Naples, to the patrimony of St. Peter.

XII. His successor, Innocent VI. was much more remarkable for integrity and moderation. He was a Frenchman, and died in the year 1362, after having governed the church ten years. His greatest blemish was that he promoted his relations with an excessive partiality, but in other respects he was a man of merit and a great encourager of pious and learned men. He kept the monks closely to their duty, carefully abstained from *reserving churches*, and, by many good actions, acquired a great and deserved reputation. He was succeeded by Urban V. who was entirely free from all the grosser vices, if we except those which cannot easily be separated from the papal dignity. This pope, being prevailed on by the entreaties of the Romans, returned to Rome in the year 1367, but, in 1370, he came back to Avignon, to reconcile the differences that had arisen between the kings of England and France, and died there the same year.

XIII. He was succeeded by Gregory XI. a man, who, though inferior to his predecessors in virtue, exceeded them far in courage and assurance. In his time Italy in general, and the city of Rome in particular, was distressed with outrageous tumults. The Florentines carried on successfully a terrible war against the ecclesiastical state. Upon which, Gregory, in hopes of quieting the disorders of Italy, and also of recovering the cities and territories which had been taken from St. Peter's *patrimony*, transferred the papal seat from Avignon to Rome, in



in the year 1376. It was not, however, long before he repented: for by the long absence of the popes from Italy, their authority was reduced to such a low ebb, that the Romans and Florentines made no scruple to insult him with the grossest abuse, which made him resolve to return to Avignon; but before he could execute his determination he was taken off by death, in the year 1378.

XIV. After the death of Gregory XI. the cardinals assembled to consult about choosing a successor, when the people of Rome, fearing lest the vacant dignity should be conferred on a Frenchman, came in a tumultuous manner to the conclave, and with great clamours, accompanied with outrageous threatenings, insisted that an Italian should be advanced to the popedom. The cardinals immediately proclaimed a Neapolitan, archbishop of Bari, elected, who assumed the name of Urban VI. This new pontiff, by his unpolite behaviour, injudicious severity, and intolerable arrogance, made himself enemies among people of all ranks, and especially among the leading cardinals. These therefore, tired of his insolence, withdrew from Rome to Anagni, and from thence to Fondi, a city in the kingdom of Naples, where they elected to the pontificate Robert, count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. and declared at the same time that the election of Urban was no more than a mere ceremony, which they were obliged to perform by the turbulent rage of the populace. Which of these two is to be considered as the true pope, is, to this day, matter of doubt; nor will the *records* and writings, alledged by the contending parties, enable us to adjust that point with any certainty. Urban remained at  
Rome;

Rome: Clement went to Avignon. His cause was espoused by France and Spain, Scotland, Sicily, and Cyprus, while all the rest of Europe acknowledged Urban to be the true vicar of Christ.

XV. Thus the union of the Latin church under one head was destroyed at the death of Gregory XI. and was succeeded by that deplorable dissension, commonly known by the name of the *great western schism*. This dissension arose to such a shameful height, that, for the space of fifty years, the church had two or three different heads at the same time; each of the contending popes thundering out anathemas against their competitors. The distress of these times is beyond all description: for, not to insist upon the perpetual wars between the factions of the several popes, by which multitudes lost their lives, all sense of religion was extinguished in most places. The clergy were so corrupt, as to be no longer studious to keep up even an appearance of religion or decency: and many plain well-meaning people, who concluded that no one could possibly partake of eternal life, unless united with the vicar of Christ, were plunged into the deepest distress of mind. By these dissensions the papal power received an incurable wound; and kings and princes, who had formerly been the slaves of the pontiffs, now became their judges and masters. And many of the least stupid among the people had the courage to disregard the popes on account of their disputes about dominion, to commit their salvation to God alone, and to admit it as a maxim, that the prosperity of the church might be maintained and the interests of religion promoted without a visible head.

XVI. The

XVI. The Italian cardinals attached to the interests of Urban VI. upon the death of that pope in the year 1389, set up for his successor, at Rome, a Neapolitan, who took the name of Boniface IX; and Clement VII. dying in the year 1394, the French cardinals raised to the pontificate, a Spaniard, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII. Various methods were proposed for healing this breach. It was generally thought that the best course to be taken in this matter was, what they then styled, the *Method of cession*: but neither of the popes could be prevailed on, either by intreaties or threatenings, to give up the pontificate. The Gallican church, highly incensed at this obstinacy, renounced solemnly, in a council held at Paris in the year 1397, all subjection to both pontiffs; and, upon the publication of this resolution in the year 1398, Benedict XIII. was, by the express orders of Charles VI. detained prisoner in his palace at Avignon.

XVII. Some of the popes, and especially Benedict XII. were perfectly acquainted with the scandalous conduct of the greatest part of the monks, which they zealously endeavoured to rectify; but the disorder was too inveterate to admit of a cure. The Mendicants, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, were at the head of the monastic orders, and were, indeed, become the heads of the church; so extensive was the influence they had acquired, that all matters of importance, both in the court of Rome and in the cabinets of princes, were carried on under their absolute direction. The multitude had such a high notion of the sanctity of these *sturdy beggars*, that great numbers of both sexes, some in health, others in a state of



infirmity, others at the point of death, earnestly desired to be admitted into the Mendicant order, which they looked upon as an infallible method of rendering heaven propitious. Many made it a part of their last wills, that their carcases, after death, should be wrapped in Dominican or Franciscan habits, and interred among the Mendicants. For they believed they should readily obtain mercy from Christ, at the day of judgment, if they appeared with the Mendicant friars.

XVIII. The high esteem in which the Mendicant orders were held, only served to render them still more odious to, and to draw upon them new jealousy and hatred from the higher and lower clergy, the monastic societies, and the public universities. So universal was this odium, that there was scarcely a province or university in Europe in which bishops, clergy, and doctors were not warmly engaged in opposition to the Dominicans and Franciscans, who employed the power they had received from the popes, in undermining the ancient discipline of the church. In England, the university of Oxford made a resolute stand against the encroachments of the Dominicans, while Richard, archbishop of Armagh, Henry Cramp, Norris, and others, attacked all the Mendicant orders with great vehemence and severity. But Richard, whose animosity against them was much keener than that of their other antagonists, went to the court of Innocent VI. in the year 1356, and there vindicated the cause of the church against them with the greatest fervour, until the year 1360, in which he died. They suffered little or nothing, however, from these numerous adversaries, being resolutely protected against all opposition,

whether open or secret, by the popes, who regarded them as their most effectual supports.

XIX. But among all the enemies of the Mendicant orders, none has been transmitted to posterity with more exalted encomiums on the one hand, or blacker calumnies on the other, than John Wickliff, an English doctor, professor of divinity at Oxford, and afterwards rector of Lutterworth; who was a man of an enterprising genius, and extraordinary learning. In the year 1360, animated by the example of Richard, archbishop of Armagh, he first of all defended the privileges of the university of Oxford against all the orders of the Mendicants, and had the courage to throw out some slight reproofs against the popes, their principal patrons, which no true Briton ever imputed to him as a crime. After this, in the year 1367, he was deprived of the wardenship of Canterbury-Hall in the university of Oxford, by Simon Langham, archbishop of Canterbury; upon which he appealed to pope Urban V. who confirmed the sentence of the archbishop against him. On this, he threw off all restraint, and not only attacked all the monks, and their scandalous irregularities, but even the pontifical power itself, and other ecclesiastical abuses, both in his sermons and writings. From hence he proceeded to yet greater lengths, and, detesting the wretched superstition of the times, refuted, with great acuteness and spirit, the absurd notions that were generally received in religious matters, and not only exhorted the laity to study the scriptures, but also translated into English these divine books, in order to render the perusal of them more universal.

XX. The monks, whom Wickliff had principally exasperated, commenced a violent prosecution against him at the court of Gregory XI. who, in the year 1377, ordered Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, to take cognizance of the affair in a council held at London. Imminent as this danger evidently was, Wickliff escaped it by the interest of the duke of Lancaster, and some other peers, who had a high regard for him. And soon after the death of Gregory XI. the fatal schism of the Romish church commenced, during which there was one pope at Rome, and another at Avignon; so that of course this controversy lay dormant a long time. But no sooner was this embroiled state of affairs tolerably settled, than the process against him was revived by William de Courtnay, archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1385, and was carried on with great vehemence, in two councils held at London and Oxford. The event was, that of the *twenty-three* opinions, for which Wickliff had been prosecuted by the monks, *ten* were condemned as heresies, and *thirteen* as errors. He himself, however, returned in safety to Lutterworth, where he died peaceably, in the year 1387. He left many followers in England, and other countries. Wherever they could be found, they were terribly persecuted by the *inquisitors*, and, in the council of Constance, in the year 1415, the memory and opinions of Wickliff were condemned by a solemn decree: and about thirteen years after, his bones were dug up, and publicly burnt.

XXI. Notwithstanding the Mendicants were thus vigorously attacked on all sides, by such a considerable number of learned adversaries, they could



could not be persuaded to abate any thing of their excessive pride, or to desist from imposing upon the multitude, but were as diligent as ever in propagating opinions highly detrimental to religion. The Franciscans, forgetting, in their enthusiastic frenzy, the veneration they owed to the Son of God, impiously maintained, that St. Francis was a *second* Christ, in all respects similar to the *first*; and that their institution and discipline was the true gospel of Jesus. Yet, shocking as these foolish and impious pretensions were, the popes were not ashamed to patronize and encourage them by their letters and mandates, in which they made no scruple to assert that the absurd fable of the *stigmas*, or five wounds impressed upon Francis by Christ himself, on mount Alvernus, was matter of undoubted fact.

XXII. From the prodigious number of the Latin writers of this century, we shall only select three or four of the most famous. Among the scholastic doctors, John Duns Scotus, the great antagonist of Thomas, held the first rank, and, though not entitled to any praise for his candour and ingenuity, was by no means inferior to any of his cotemporaries in acuteness and subtilty of genius.

Among the mystic divines, Jo. Taulerus and Jo. Ruysbrockius, though not entirely free from errors, were eminent for their wisdom and integrity.

Nicholas Lyranus acquired great reputation by his *Compendious Exposition of the whole Bible*.

All the other divines who applied themselves to this kind of writing, were less distinguished than the preceding. They either ended choice sentences

## C H A P. III.

*Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church during this century.*

I. **A**LL those who are well acquainted with the history of these times must acknowledge, that religion, whether as taught in the schools, or inculcated upon the people as the rule of their conduct, was so extremely adulterated, that there was not a single branch of the Christian doctrine, which retained the least trace of its primitive lustre. Hence the Waldenses and others, who longed for a reformation of the church, and had separated themselves from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, though every where exposed to the fury of the *inquisitors* and monks, yet increased from day to day. Many of these poor people having observed, that great numbers of their party perished by the flames and other punishments, fled out of Italy, France, and Germany, into Bohemia and the adjacent countries, where they associated with the Hussites and other Separatists from the church of Rome.

II. Nicholas Lyranus deservedly holds the first rank among the commentators on the Holy Scriptures, having explained the Books both of the Old and New Testament in a manner far superior to the prevailing taste and spirit of his age. He was a perfect master of the Hebrew language, but not well versed in the Greek, and was therefore much happier in his exposition of the Old Testament, than in that of the New. All the other divines, who applied themselves to this kind of writing, were servile imitators of their predecessors. They either culled choice sentences

sentences from the writings of the more ancient doctors; or else, departing from the obvious meaning of the words, they tortured the sacred writers to accommodate them to senses that were mysterious and abstruse.

III. The greatest part of the doctors of this century, both Greek and Latin, followed the rules of the peripatetic philosophy, in expounding the doctrines of religion; and the Greeks, from their commerce with the Latins, seemed to have acquired some knowledge of those methods of instruction used in the western schools. Even to this day the Greeks read, in their own tongue, the works of Thomas, and other capital writers of the scholastic class, which in this age were translated and introduced into the Greek church by Demetrius Cydonius, and others.

IV. This superiority of the schoolmen did not, however, prevent some wise and pious men among the *Mystics*, and others, from severely censuring this presumptuous method of bringing before the tribunal of philosophy matters of pure revelation. And many were bold enough to oppose the reigning passion, and to recal the youth designed for the ministry to the study of the scriptures. This proceeding kindled the flame of discord almost every where; but this flame raged with peculiar violence in the more famous universities, especially in those of Paris, and Oxford, where many sharp disputes were continually carried on against the *philosophical* divines by those of the *biblical* party, who, though greatly inferior to their antagonists in point of number, were sometimes victorious. For the *philosophical* legions, headed by Mendicants, Dominicans, and Franciscans, were often extremely rash in their manner of disputing; they



they defined and explained the principal doctrines of revealed religion in such a way as really overturned them, and fell often into opinions that were evidently absurd and impious. Hence it came to pass, that some of them were compelled to abjure their errors, others to seek their safety by flight; some had their writings publicly burnt, and others were thrown into prison.

V. It is remarkable, that these *scholastic* doctors, far from agreeing among themselves, were furiously engaged in disputations with each other. The flame of their controversy was supplied with plentiful accessions of fuel, by John Duns Scotus, who was eminent for the sublimity of his genius, and who, animated against the Dominicans, had attempted to disprove several doctrines of Thomas Aquinas. Upon this, the Dominicans taking the alarm, united from all quarters to defend their favourite doctor; while the Franciscans, on the other hand, espoused with ardour the cause of Scotus. Hence the origin of the two famous sects, the *Scotists* and *Thomists*.

VI. A prodigious number of the people, denominated *Mystics*, resided in almost every part of Europe. There were, undoubtedly, among them many persons of eminent piety, who endeavoured to wean men from an excessive attachment to the external part of religion, and to form them to the love of God, and the practice of genuine virtue. Such, among others, were Taulerus, Ruysbrockius, Sufi, and Gerard of Zutphen, who, it must be confessed, have left many writings that are well calculated to excite pious dispositions in the minds of their readers; though want of judgment, and a propensity to indulge enthusiastic visions, is a defect common among them.

VII. It is needless to say much concerning those who applied themselves to the study of morality, seeing their merit is much of the same kind with that of the authors whom we have already mentioned. About this time more writers than in any former century made it their business to collect and solve, what they stiled, *Cases of conscience*. But this kind of writing was of a piece with the education then received in the schools, since it taught people to quibble and wrangle, instead of forming them to a sound faith and a suitable practice.

VIII. The defenders of Christianity in this age were, generally speaking, unequal to the glorious cause; nor do their writings discover any striking marks of genius, perspicuity, or candour. Some productions, indeed, appeared from time to time, that were not altogether unworthy of notice. The learned Bradwardine, an English divine, advanced many pertinent and ingenious things in a *Book upon Providence*.

IX. During this century, there were some promising appearances of a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins. For the former, apprehending they should want the assistance of the Latins to set bounds to the power of the Turks, often pretended a willingness to submit to the Latin canons. Accordingly, A. D. 1339, Andronicus, the Younger, sent Barlaam as his ambassador into the west, to desire a reconciliation in his name. In the year 1349, another Grecian embassy was sent to Clement VI. for the same purpose, and, in 1356, a third was dispatched upon a like errand to Innocent VI. who resided at Avignon. Nor was this all; for, in the year 1367, the Grecian patriarch arrived at Rome in order to negotiate this important

important matter, and was followed, in the year 1369, by the emperor himself, John Palæologus, who undertook a journey into Italy, and, in order to conciliate the friendship of the Latins, published a confession of his faith, which was agreeable to the sentiments of the Roman pontiff. But, notwithstanding these pacific measures, the major part of the Greeks could not be persuaded by any means to be reconciled to the church of Rome; so that this whole century was spent partly in furious debates, and partly in fruitless negotiations.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.*

**WE** must confine ourselves to a general view of the alterations that were introduced into the ritual of the church during this century. One of the principal circumstances that strikes us here, is the change made in the time of celebrating the jubilee. In the year 1350, Clement VI. in compliance with the requests of the people of Rome, enacted, that the jubilee, which Boniface VIII. had ordered to be held every hundredth year, should be celebrated twice in every century. In favour of this alteration, he might have assigned a very plausible pretext; since it is well known that the Jews, whom the Roman pontiffs were always ready to imitate in whatever related to pomp and majesty, celebrated this sacred solemnity every fiftieth year. But Urban VI. Sixtus VI. and other popes, who ordered a more frequent



frequent celebration of this profitable institution, would have had more difficulty in attempting to satisfy those who might have demanded sufficient reasons for this inconstancy.

II. Innocent V. instituted festivals sacred to the memory of the *lance* with which our Saviour's side was pierced, the *nails* that fastened him to the cross, and the crown of thorns he wore. This, though absurd, was pardonable upon the whole, considering the gross ignorance of the times. But nothing can excuse the impious fanaticism of Benedict XII. who, by appointing a festival in honour of the marks of Christ's wounds, which, the Franciscans tell us, were imprinted upon the body of their founder by a miraculous power, gave credit to that grossly ridiculous and blasphemous fable. Pope John XXII. besides the sanction he gave to many other superstitions, ordered Christians to add to their prayers those words with which the angel Gabriel saluted the Virgin Mary.

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### C H A P. V.

*Concerning the divisions and hereses, that troubled the church during this century.*

I: **D**URING some part of this century the *Hesychasts*, or, as the Latins call them, the *Quietists*, gave the Greek church a great deal of trouble. To assign the true source of it we must observe, that Barlaam, a native of Calabria, made a progress through Greece to inspect the behaviour of the monks, among whom he found many things highly reprehensible. He was more especially offended at the *Hesychasts* of

of mount Athos, in Theffaly, who were the same with the Mystics, and who, by contemplation, endeavoured to arrive at a tranquillity of mind entirely free from every degree of perturbation. These Quietists, in compliance with an ancient opinion of their principal doctors (who held that there was a celestial *light* concealed in the deepest retirements of the mind) used to sit every day, during a certain space of time, in a corner, with their eyes immoveably fixed; and professed, that, while they remained in this posture, they found a *divine light* beaming forth from the soul, which diffused through their hearts inexpressible sensations of pleasure and delight. Barlaam, entirely unacquainted with the Mystics, looked upon all this as highly absurd. On the other hand, Gregory Palamas, archbishop of Theffalonica, defended the cause against Barlaam.

II. In the Latin church the *inquisitors* extended their vigilance to every quarter, and most industriously hunted out the remains of those who opposed the religion of Rome; so that the history of these times abounds with numberless instances of persons who were burnt, or otherwise barbarously destroyed, by these unrelenting instruments of superstitious vengeance. But none of these enemies of the church gave the *inquisitors* and bishops so much employment of this bloody kind, as the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*, who went under the common name of *Beggards* and *Beguines* in Germany and Flanders. For as this sort of people professed an uncommon and sublime sort of devotion, endeavouring to call off men's minds from the external parts of religion, and to win them over

to the inward and spiritual worship of God, they were greatly esteemed by many plain, well-meaning persons, and made many converts to their opinions. Numbers of them perished in the flames of persecution during this century in Italy, France, and Germany.

III. This sect was most numerous in those cities of Germany that lay upon the Rhine, especially at Cologne, which circumstance induced Henry I, archbishop of that diocese, to publish a severe edict against them, A. D. 1306; an example that was soon followed by the bishops of Mentz, Triers, Worms, and Strasburg.

IV. The *Brethren of the free spirit*, oppressed by so many severe edicts and constitutions, formed the design of removing from Upper Germany into the lower parts of the empire; and Westphalia was the only province which refused admission to them. About the same time the Beggards upon the Rhine lost their chief leader, Walter, a Dutchman, of remarkable eloquence, and famous for his writings, who came from Mentz to Cologne, where he was apprehended and burnt. The death of this person was highly detrimental to the affairs of the *Brethren of the free spirit*, but did not, however, ruin their cause. For it appears from innumerable testimonies, that these people, for a long time afterwards, not only held their private assemblies at Cologne, and in many other provinces of Germany, but also that they had several men among them of high rank and great learning, of which number Henry Aycardus, or Eccard, a Saxon, was the most famous. He was a Dominican, and also the superior of that order in Saxony; a man of a subtil genius, and one who had acquitted



himself with reputation as professor of divinity at Paris<sup>1</sup>.

V. The constitution of the council of Vienne against the Beguines, or those female societies who lived together in fixed habitations under a common rule of pious discipline, gave rise to a persecution of these people, which lasted till the reformation by Luther. For though the pope, in his last constitution, had permitted pious women to live as nuns in a state of celibacy, with or without taking the vow, and refused a toleration only to such of them as held the opinions of the *Brethren of the free Spirit*: yet the vast number of enemies which the Beguines and Beggards had, took a handle from thence to molest the Beguines in their houses, to seize and destroy their goods, to offer them many other insults, and to involve the Beggards in the like persecution. John XXII. indeed, in the year 1324, ordered that the goods, chattels, habitations, and societies of the innocent Beguines should be preserved from every kind of violence and insult; which example of clemency and moderation was afterwards followed by other popes. Yet all these measures in their favour could not prevent the loss both of their reputation and substance; for from this time they were oppressed in several provinces by the magistrates, the clergy, and the monks, who had cast a greedy eye upon their treasures, and were extremely eager to divide the spoil.

VI. The *Dancers*, in the year 1373, arose at Aix-la-Chapelle, from whence they spread through the district of Liege, Hainault, and other parts of Flanders. It was customary among

<sup>1</sup> It is highly probable, that these were the *real Christians* of that day; who worshipped God in spirit and in truth. If so, it is no wonder they were thus persecuted.

these fanatics for persons of both sexes, publicly, as well as in private, to fall a dancing all of a sudden, and, holding each others hands, to continue their motions with extraordinary violence, till, being almost suffocated, they fell down breathless together; and they affirmed, that, during these intervals of vehement agitation, they were favoured with wonderful visions.

VII. The most abominable tribe that infected this century (if the enormities, with which they stand charged, be true) were the *Knights Templars*, who had been established in Palestine about two hundred years before this period. Their principal accuser indeed was a person whose testimony ought not to be admitted. This was Philip the Fair, who addressed his complaints of the Templars to Clement V. an avaritious, vindictive, and turbulent prince. The pope, in the year 1307, appointed a day on which all the knights, who were dispersed throughout Europe, and not in the least apprehensive of any impending evil, were seized and imprisoned. Such of them as refused to confess the enormities of which they were accused, were put to death; and those who, by tortures and promises, were induced to acknowledge what was laid to their charge, obtained their liberty. In the year 1311, the whole order was extinguished by the council of Vienne. A part of the rich revenues they possessed was bestowed upon other orders, especially on the knights of St. John, now of Malta, and the rest confiscated to the respective treasuries of the sovereign princes in whose dominions their possessions lay.

VIII. The Knights Templars, if their judges be worthy of credit, were a set of men who trampled upon all laws human and divine. It  
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will be allowed that in this order, as in all the other religious societies of this age, there were shocking examples of impiety and wickedness; but that the whole order of the Templars was thus corrupt, is so far from being proved, that the contrary may be concluded even from the acts and records, yet extant, of the tribunals before which they were tried. If to this we add, that many of the accusations advanced against them flatly contradict each other, and that many members of this unfortunate order solemnly avowed their innocence, while languishing under the severest tortures, and even with their dying breath; it is highly probable, that king Philip set on foot this bloody tragedy, with a view to gratify his avarice, and glut his resentment against the Templars. The principal cause of which was, that, in his quarrel with Boniface VIII. the knights espoused the cause of the pope, and furnished him with money to carry on the war; an offence this, which Philip could never pardon.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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